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KATYAYANA AND PATANJALI:

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RELATION TO EACH OTHER,

AND TO

PANINI

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F. KIELHORN, Pr. D.,

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KATYAYANA AND PATANJALI:

THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND TO PÂNINI.

1.

AMONG all the European scholars who have been engaged in the study of the works of the Sanskrit grammarians, no one has more patiently, minutely, and thoroughly examined the Mahabhâshya, than the late Prof. Goldstücker. His essay on Pânini betrays a familiarity with the work of Patanjali to which no other scholar has as yet attained, and which few are likely to acquire in the future. It is on this account that the views which have been expressed by Prof. Goldstücker regarding the Mahabhashya, are deserving of the highest consideration; but the very weight which justly attaches to that scholar's opinions, at the same time imposes on those who may devote themselves to grammatical studies after him, the duty of independently examining and testing their value, and of publicly discussing such doubts and objections as may occur to them in the course of their own reading. And the adoption of such a course appears to be the more called for, when we find that not only have some of the views held by Prof. Goldstücker been apparently widely adopted without such examination, but that views have even been ascribed to him which are at variance with those to which he has actually given expression in his 'Panini.'

In an article on the Mahâbhâshya published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. V., page 241, I ventured to express some doubts as to whether the nature and the object of the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana and of the Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali had been correctly described by other scholars. I would gladly have deferred discussion on this point to the time when I might

have been enabled to subject the whole of the Mahabhashya to a thorough and searching examination; but having been led publicly to question the accuracy of others, I feel bound to lay before the reader such objections to the current views regarding the works of Katyayana and Patanjali, as have led me to doubt their correctness.

On pp. 119—121 of his essay on Panini, Prof. Goldstücker has described the nature and the object of the Varttikas of Katyayana and of the work of Patanjali in the following para-

graphs:-

i"The characteristic feature of a Vârttika," says Någojibhatta, " is criticism in regard to that which is omitted
or imperfectly expressed in a Sûtra." (Note: Någojibhatta on Kaiyyata वासिकामति। सुवे अनुक्रक्तावलाकार वासिकायम्). A Vârttika of Kâtyâyana is therefore
not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion
which completes. In proposing to himself to write Vârttikas on Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana did not mean to justify and to
defend the rules of Pâṇini, but to find fault with them;
and whoever has gone through his work must avow that
he has done so to his heart's content' 'Kâtyâyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pâṇini, but that of an antagonist,—
often, too, of an unfair antagonist'

The position of Patanjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vārttikas. But as he has two predecessors to deal with instead of one—and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,—his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikas of this latter grammarian; and thus the Mahābhāshya became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of

the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, on the Varttikas of Katyayana; while its Ishtis, on the other hand, are original Varttikas on such Satras of Panini as called for his own remarks.'

'I have already mentioned that Patanjali often refutes the strictures of Kâtyâyana and takes the part of Pâ-

nini'

'His object being, like that of Kâtyâyana, merely a critical one, Patanjali comments upon the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana, because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pâṇini or on Kâtyâyana; and, in consequence, no Vârttika could be left unnoticed by him. Again, independently of Kâtyâyana, he writes his own Vârttikas to Sûtras not sufficiently or not at all animadverted upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz. on Pâṇini.'

Prof. Weber, in his article on the Mahabhashya (Indische Studien, vol. XIII.) has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's view regarding the nature of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas, but to the same scholar's remarks on the work of Patanjali he appears to have given a meaning, against which Prof. Goldstücker would seem to have distinctly and repeatedly guarded himself. On page

297 Prof. Weber writes :-

'Through Goldstücker we then learnt that Patanjali behaves much less like a commentator on Panini than like a defender of the latter against the unjust attacks of Katyayana, the author of the Varttikas. And this view is indeed fully borne out by appearances.'

On page 298 Prof. Weber speaks of Katyayana as attacking or combating the Sûtras of Panini, and of Patanjali

as refuting the Varttikas of Katyayana. -

On page 321 Prof. Weber says :-

'The red thread which runs through the work (i.e. the Mahâbhâshya) is—and on this Goldstücker was the first to lay particular stress—the polemic against the Vârttikakâra;' and on the same page he speaks of the Sûtras as attacked by Kâtyâyana.

On page 399 Prof. Weber writes: 'He (i.e. Kâtyâyana) it is to combat whom is the special object of the Bhâshya;' and he tells us that the Bhâshya contains the Vârttikas 'together with their refutation' by Patanjali.

Finally, on page 502 Prof. Weber asks: 'What business have Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas, whose object it surely is to attack

Pânini's Sútras, in the introduction of the Bhâshya?'

While, then, according to Prof. Goldstücker, Patanjali commented on the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of that grammarian, frequently attaching, at the same time, to quote another passage from the essay on Panini, 'his own critical remarks to the emendations of Katyayana, often in support of the views of the latter,' Prof. Weber maintains, apparently on the authority of Prof. Goldstücker, that the Varttikas of Kâtyâyana have been refuted by Patanjali. And Prof. Weber is not the only scholar who has given this meaning to Prof. Goldstücker's words. For Dr. Burnell in his essay On the Aindra School, likewise describes the relation to each other of Kâtyâyana and Patanjali in the following terms (page 91) 'Katyayana criticised Panini, and Patanjali replied in justification of the latter,' (and on page 92) 'the Mahabhashya is . . . a skilful compilation of the views of Panini's critics and of their refutation by Patanjali."

Setting aside for the present the work of Patanjali, it would appear from the above quotations, that Prof. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber are agreed in regarding Kâtyâyana as an antagonist or, to speak more accurately, as an unfair antagonist of Pāṇini, and that both these scholars are of opinion that Kâtyâyana had no other motive in composing the Vârttikas than to attack, or to find fault with, the Sûtras of his predecessor. If we try to examine how far this view of the literary activity of Kâtyâyana may be correct, we meet at the very outset of our enquiry with the difficulty that neither Prof. Goldstücker nor Prof. Weber has furnished us with a test by which to recognise the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana, that neither scholar has shown to us a way of reconstructing out of the Mahâbhâshya, as we

find it in our MSS, the work of Kâtyâyana as it must have existed before it was by Patanjali embodied in his own work. And not only have both withheld from us their guidance in deciding this most important and fundamental question, but they have incidentally ventured on statements the adoption of which, in my opinion, would be sure to mislead, and have in individual cases expressed opinions opposed to those which are unani-

mously held by the native grammarians.

It is true Prof. Goldstücker commences his description of the nature and the object of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas with Nâgojibhatta's definition of the term वातिक, but it must be apparent that that definition, even supposing it to have been rightly understood, can be of but little value in determining what are Katyåyana's Vårttikas, for we find it stated by Prof. Goldstiicker that the Mahabhashya contains not only Katyayana's Varttikas, but also Varttikas of Patanjali. Moreover, no reader of the essay on Panini can fail to perceive that practically Prof. Goldstücker has little heeded Någojibhatta's definition, and that he frequently, and I may add, correctly, has prefixed the words Varttika or Katyayana to remarks which justify and teach the proper application of, without in any way taking exception to, the Sútras to which they refer. Turning to incidental notices, we find that in a note on page 29 Prof. Goldstücker speaks of the usual addition of Kâtyâyana दति वक्तव्यम्; in reality this phrase appears to be entirely foreign to the style of Kâtyâyana, and occurs either in the original remarks of Patanjali, or in the explanations given by this scholar of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas. Nor is another statement (in a note on page 23) that 'Kâtyâyana never gives instances' less liable to objection, for there are Varttikas, on P. I, 1, 39 and other rules, which lay down general rules and at the same time give instances.

Prof. Weber has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's rendering of the definition of the term Vârttika, and on the strength of that definition so understood, he apparently is inclined to deny, that Vârttikas occur in the first Âhnika of the Mahâbhâshya, viz., because no Sûtras of Pâṇini's are treated of in that Ahnika, and because therefore there is as yet no occasion for finding fault with Panini. Though I have found reason to admire their thorough knowledge of the Mahabhashya, I am by no means inclined to assert that men like Kaiyata, Bhattojidîkshita, and Nagojibhatta are free from error. But when I see that those scholars unanimously call certain statements which we meet with in the first Ahnika, by the name Varttika, while at the same time they adhere to the current definition of that term as recorded by Nagojibhatta, I in the first instance feel strongly moved to question whether the force of that definition has been rightly apprehended by Prof. Goldstücker. And when Prof. Weber justifies his doubts as to whether the words यथा लीकिकवैfary in the first Ahnika are part of a Varttika, by stating that the same words in other passages in which they occur (vis. on pages 28b, 45a, 136b of the first volume of the Lith. Ben. Edn., and on P. VI, t, 84) are certainly not Varttikas, I can only reply that the sentence ending with बया लेकिकपेरिकेप on page 286 is called a Varttika by Kaiyata, and that I consider those words as part of Varttikas in the remaining passages also. On page 399 (Ind. Stud. XIII.) Prof. Weber states that on the whole the Varttikas of Katyayana are easily detected in the Mahabhashya, because as a rule they are followed by a short paraphrase which ends with the word amou or made. This would seem to be an improvement on Prof. Goldstücker's remark concerning इति यक्तव्यम्, but it contains no test by which to recognize all the Varttikas of Katyayana or even most of them; nor did Prof. Weber intend to lay down a general rule. Moreover, Prof. Weber, too, has regarded as Varttikas statements of Patanjali which end with इति वक्तव्यम्

So far as we know at present, the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana do not exist separately in MS. MSS, which profess to give the Śrîmadbhagavat-Kâtyâyanavirachita-vârttikapâṭha are indeed to be met with in different and widely distant parts of India,*but a very superficial examination is sufficient to prove that the Vârttikapâṭha which they contain, has been compiled and, I have no

^{*} A so-called Vártikapáthal has also been printed at Benares.

hesitation in saying, very carelessly compiled from the Mahâbhâshya at a comparatively modern date. Nor do the commentators on the Mahâbhâshya, or other scholars who have written on Pâṇini, render us any very great assistance in reconstructing the work of Kâtyâyana, for they only occasionally contrast the views of Patanjali with those of the Vârttikakâra, and they tell us only incidentally that a particular statement is a Vârttika or belongs to Kâtyâyana. And Patanjali himself, the author of the Great Commentary, is even more reticent.

In attempting then to determine which are the Varttikas of Kâtyâyana, we are mainly left to our own resources. Given the Mahabhashya, which in accordance with the tradition handed down to us and to judge from incidental remarks that occur in the work itself, contains both Varttikas of Katyayana and original matter contributed by Patanjali, we must attempt to find out whether there is anything in the method and the style of the work that would enable us to separate the former from the latter. In making an attempt of this nature, we may avail ourselves of the assistance rendered to us by the later native grammarians-not indeed on account of any traditional knowledge, which they may or may not have been possessed of, but because they evince a familiarity with the work of Patanjali in which they will never again be equalled,-and if the result to which our enquiry may lead should happen to coincide with their views, such accordance will tend to assure us that our attempt has not been entirely vain or fruitless. this spirit and from this point of view I have examined that portion of the Mahabhashya which treats of the rules in the first Påda of Pånini's grammar; the results which I have arrived at in the course of that examination I have tested by applying them in the later portions, and having found them confirmed, I now submit them to the judgment of others.

II.

The first thing sure to arrest the attention of the student of the Mahabhashya, is in my opinion this, that the method of discussion followed in it, is distinctly two-fold. If we examine that part of the work which treats of the rules in the first Påda of the Ashtådhyåyî, we find that in the case of some rules the discussion is begun, continued, and ended in a series of short epigrammatic sentences. The paraphrases which invariably accompany these sentences, and the explanatory remarks which are sometimes added, form no integral part of the discussion. They facilitate the understanding of the sentences to which they are attached; but an intelligent reader might supply them for himself. They contribute nothing to the discussion of which at first sight they seem to form a part.

On the other hand, there are other rules in the discussion of which such short sentences accompanied by paraphrase and explanatory remarks, are completely wanting. Wherever this is the case, every part of the discussion is essentially necessary, and nothing could have been omitted without either breaking the continuity of the discussion, or depriving the student of information which no mere exegetical ability of his could have

supplied him with.

As instances of rules where the former method has been exclusively adopted I cite P. I, 1, 10, 48, 54, 60, and 71; as instances for the latter P. I, 1, 14, 25, 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 55, 74 and 75.

On P. I, 1, 10 all essential points of the discussion are contained in the following sentences:—

- (a) अज्झलोः प्रतिवेधे दाकारप्रतिवेधोऽज्झल्त्वात् ।
- (b) तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोष: l
- (c) सिद्धमनच्त्वात् l
- (d) वाक्यापरिसमाप्तर्वा ||

On P. I, 1, 48 in the following:-

- (a) एच इग्वचनं सवर्णाकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ।
- (ð) दीर्घापसङ्गस्तु निवर्तकत्वात् ।
- (c) सिद्धमेङ: सस्थानत्वात् l
- (d) ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् ||

On P. I, 1, 54 in the following single sentence:-

अलोऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यानेकाल्शित्सर्वस्येत्यपवादविप्रतिषेधात्स-र्वादेशः ॥

On P. I, 1, 60 in the following sentences:-

- (a) लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसतोरुक्तम् |
- (b) सर्वपसङ्गस्तु सर्वस्यान्यत्रादृष्टस्वात् I
- (c) तत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधः |
- (d) सिद्धं तु पसक्तादर्शनस्य लोपसंज्ञत्वात् ।।

On P. I, 1, 71 in the following:-

- (a) आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेत्यसंप्रत्ययः संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशात् ।
- (b) सिद्धं त्वादिरिता सह तन्मध्यस्येति वचनात् |
- (c) संबन्धिशष्टिर्वा तुल्यम् । ।

I select the discussion on this last rule as an instance to show that all that has been stated regarding that rule of Pânini's in the Mahâbhâshya is really contained in the three sentences which I have pointed out, and that what we find besides is paraphrase and explanatory remark. The whole Bhâshya on P. I, 1, 71 आहरन्येन सहेना runs thus:—

आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेत्यसंप्रत्ययः संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशात् ॥ आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेत्यसंप्रत्ययः । किं कारणम् । संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशा-त् । न हि संज्ञिनो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

सिद्धं त्वादिरिता सह तन्मध्यस्येति वचनात् ॥ सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । आदिरन्त्येन सहेता गृद्धमाणः स्वस्य च रूपस्य पाहकस्तन्मध्यानां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

संबन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुस्यम् ॥

संबन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यमेतत् । तद्यथा । मातिर वार्ततव्यं पितिर शुश्रूषितव्यमिति । न चोच्यते स्वस्यां मातिर स्वस्मिन्पितरीति संबन्धाच गम्यते या यस्य माता यश्च यस्य पितेति । एवमिहाप्या- दिरन्त्य इति संबन्धिशब्दावेती । तत्र संबन्धादेतद्रन्तव्यं यं प्रति य आदिरन्त्य इति च भवति तस्य ग्रहणं भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्येति ॥

To show how this method differs from that which has been followed on P. I, 1,14 and the other rules enumerated above, in the discussion on which we meet with no sentences that are accompanied by paraphrase and explanatory remarks, I cite for the sake of brevity the Bhâshya on P. I, 1, 25 and 30.

P. I, 1, 25:—डित च || इदं डितियहणं द्विः क्रियते संख्या-संज्ञायां पट्संज्ञायां च | एकं शक्यमकर्तुम् | कथम् | यदि ताव-दसंख्यासंज्ञायां क्रियते पट्संज्ञायां न किर्ष्यते | कथम् | ज्यान्ता पडित्यत्र डितीत्यनुवर्तिष्यते | अथ पट्संज्ञायां क्रियते संख्यासंज्ञायां न किर्ष्यते | डित चेत्यत्र संख्यासंज्ञाप्यनुवर्तिष्यते ||

P. I, 1, 30:— तृतीयासमासे | समास इति वर्तमाने पुनः समासप्रहणं किमर्थम् | अयं तृतीयासमासोऽस्त्येव प्राथमकित्पको यस्मिनैकपद्यमैकस्वर्यमेकिविभक्तित्वं चेति | अस्ति च तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छव्यं
तृतीयासमासार्थानि पदानि तृतीयासमास इति | तद्यत्तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छव्यं तस्येदं प्रहणम् | अथवा समास इति वर्तमाने पुनः समासपहणस्यैतत्व्ययोजनं योगाङ्गं यथा विज्ञायेत | सित च योगाङ्गं योगविभागः करिष्यते | तृतीया | तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति | मासपूर्वाय देहि संवत्सरपूर्वाय देहि | ततो
ऽसमासे | असमासे च तृतीयायाः सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न
भवन्ति | मासेन पूर्वाय देहि संवत्सरेण पूर्वाय देहीति ||

If we now ask whether there is anything in the nature or in the object of the remarks on the two sets of rules cited above which could have induced the author of the Mahâbhâshya to adopt two distinctly different methods of discussion, we are bound to answer in the negative. For the object of the discussions on P. I, 1, 10, &c., is no other than that of the discussions on P. I, 1, 14, &c., either to defend Páṇini against objections which might be raised or have actually been raised, or to show the real meaning and the scope of his rules, or to prove that a particular rule need not have been given, &c. Nor is it the extent of the remarks appended to P. I,1,10, &c. that could have induced Patanjali to sum up, as it were, the discussion in a few short sentences, which, it might be argued, are more easily remembered by the student than long discussions void of such summary sentences; for the remarks attached to some of the rules contained in the second set are even more lengthy than those attached to some rules of the first set.

Now I am well aware of the fact that there have lived authors in India who have furnished us with commentaries on works composed by themselves, and if Patanjali had carried on his discussions on Panini's rules throughout his whole work in the manner which he follows, e.g. on P. I, 1, 10, I would admit the possibility of his belonging to that class of authors. But it appears to me extremely unlikely that the same scholar in the composition of one and the same work should, for no discernible reason whatsoever, have followed two methods of discussion so different as those which Patanjali would seem to have adopted in the Mahabhashya, and the only way in which I am able to account for such an apparent inconsistency is by assuming that in the discussions on P. I, 1, 10, &c., Patanjali has simply paraphrased and commented on the words of another scholar, while in those on P. I, 1, 14, &c. he has given us his own original remarks on Panini's Sutras. In other words, I would venture to assume that those short sentences on P. I, 1, 10, &c., by means of which the discussion is carried on from beginning to end, and which we find paraphrased and explained in the Mahâbhâshya, are not of Patanjali's own authorship, but form part of the work of another scholar on which, in these instances, the author of the Mahabhashya is merely commenting. And this assumption is rendered the more probable when we find that the author of the Mahabhashya in the discussion on one of the rules which I have instanced above, on P. I, 1, 10, does not merely give us his own interpretation of the sentences अज्ञालो : प्रतिषेधे प्रकारप्रतिष्धाः

उज्यान्त्वात् &c., but also quotes, after having done so, the interpretation by another (अपर) of the very same sentences, which interpretation, in some respects, materially differs from his Such a proceeding of his would, in my opinion, be altogether inexplicable, were the sentences अज्झलोः प्रतियो, &c. of Patanjali's own authorship. Of whose authorship they are, I will not at present stop to enquire. I content myself with stating that the sentences (a) and (b) on P. I, 1, 10 are called Vårttika by Bhattojidíkshita in his Sabdakaustubha, that (c) and (d) on the same rule are ascribed to the Varttikakara by the same scholar, and that the sentence (b) on P. I. 1, 71 is called a Varttika by Nagojibhatta in his Pratyakhyanasamgraha. On the other hand, the most diligent search has not enabled me to discover in the works of the commentators an indication that they have regarded any part of the discussions on P. I, 1, 14 &c. as Vårttika, or have ascribed any portion of them to the Varttikakara. On the contrary, Kaiyata* distinctly ascribes the statement which we find on P. I,

तथा च म्लाजिस्थेति सूचे (III, 2, 139) श्लोकवार्त्तिकम् । बस्नोर्गन्वात्र . . . कगो-रितोरिति ॥ जयादित्योअध्येवम् ॥ नामनस्तु ग्लाजिस्थेश्वेत्यत्र स्था आ इत्याकारं प्रश्लिष्य बस्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्य तिष्ठतेराकार एव न त्वीत्वमिति व्याख्यानादेव स्थास्नोः सिन्धी न कापि मकारमश्चेषः कार्यं इत्याह ॥

Jayaditya's view is that given in the Kaáika on III, 2, 139; and that view is distinctly refuted, as stated by Bhattojidikshita, by Vamana in the same Kasika on P. VII, 2, 11 (केचिद्य दिककारकनिर्देशन गकारपञ्चेषं वर्ण-वन्तीत्यादि). It is impossible that the author of the comment on VII, 2, 11 should be the same person who composed the comment on III, 2, 139. It will, I think, be possible to show approximately where Jayaditya's portion of the work ends and where Vamana's begins.

^{*} That Kaiyaţa is older than the Kâśikâ-vritti appears to be by no means so certain as has been generally assumed to be the case. For in his gloss on P. I, I, 75 and elsewhere Kaiyaţa would seem distinctly to quote from the Kâśikâ. Nor is it at all certain that the name of the author of the Kâśikâ-vritti was Vâmana Jayâditya. On the contrary, it clearly follows from a remark of Bhaţţojidîkshita's in his Śabdakaustubha, that the Kâśikâ-vritti is the work of the truo scholars Jayâditya and Vâmana; that it was begun by the former and concluded by the latter. On page 122a of my MS. of the Śabdakaustubha Bhaţţojidîkshita writes as follows:—

1, 75, to the Bhûshyakûra, notwithstanding the fact that it ends with the phrase इति वक्तव्यम्.

The number of rules in the discussion of which either of the two methods described in the above has been exclusively adopted, appears small and insignificant, when it is compared with the number of those rules in discussing which the author of the Mahâbhâshya would seem to have employed both methods, one by the side of the other. In the case of some rules the discussion opens with one or more paraphrased sentences, while it concludes with remarks in which such sentences are wanting; or on the other hand it opens with remarks that contain no such sentences, and it is carried on and concluded by means of paraphrased sentences. Again, there are numerous rules where both methods are continually changing places with each other.

On P. I, 1, 45 the discussion opens with the paraphrased sentences:

- (a) संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेहर्णविधिः ।
- (b) वर्णसंज्ञा चेन्निर्वृत्तिः I
 - (c) विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य I

and it concludes with remarks that contain no paraphrased sentences, but the object of which is identical with that of the paraphrased sentence (c), vis. to defend Pâṇini's rule from the objections raised to it in (a) and (b).

On P. I, 1, 6 the discussion opens with the paraphrased sentences:

(a) दीधीवेज्योश्वनदोविषयत्वाहृष्टानुविधित्वाच च्छन्दसोऽदीधे-ददीधयुरिति गुणदर्शनादप्रतिषेधः ।

(b) दीध्यदिति च इयन्व्यत्ययेन I

which are intended to show that **thirth** might have been omitted from Panini's rule; and it concludes with remarks in which no paraphrased sentence occurs, but the purport of which is similar to that of (a) and (b), vis. to prove that a might have been omitted likewise.

On P. I, 1, 11 the discussion opens with lengthy remarks which consider the propriety of the Anubandha a of the terms and a continued of the terms any paraphrased sentences; and it is continued by means of the following paraphrased sentences which consider the several possible interpretations of Panini's rule:—

- (a) ईदादयो यहिवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेदन्त्यस्य विधिः !
- (b) ईदायन्तं यद्विवचनमिति चेदेकस्य विधिः l
- (c) न वाद्यन्तवस्वात् l
- (d) ईदाग्रन्तं याङ्कवचनान्तमिति चेक्कि प्रतिषेधः [
- (e) सप्तस्यामर्थमहणं ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययतक्षणप्रतिषेधस्य ।

On P. I, 1,49 the discussion opens with remarks on the term स्थानेयोगा; it is carried on by means of the paraphrased sentences:

- (a) पष्टीस्थानेयोगवचनं नियमार्थम् ।
- (b) अवयवषष्ठचादिष्वतिष्रसङ्गः शासो गोह इति ।
- (c) अवयवषष्ठचादीनां चाप्राप्तिर्योगस्यासंदिग्धत्वात् ।

the purport of which is to show the object of Panini's rule, to state an objection to which it is liable, and to refute that objection; (c) is followed by remarks without paraphrase, identical in purpose with (c); those remarks are in turn followed by the paraphrased sentence:

(d) विशिष्टा वा पष्टी स्थानेयोगा |

which suggests a different way of obviating the objection raised in (b); and after that the discussion is wound up with remarks in which no paraphrased sentences occur, and in which Panini's rule, taken in the sense which is ordinarily ascribed to it, is stated to be superfluous.

And here again we have to observe that there is nothing whatsoever in the nature of the questions discussed, which could seem to have induced the author of the Mahâbhâshya to

follow one method in preference to the other, for the remarks which contain no paraphrased sentences are of essentially and identically the same nature as other remarks conveyed to us by means of such sentences, the object of both being either to justify or to find fault with the rules laid down by Pâṇini. We at any rate fail to perceive, why Patanjali on P. I, I, II should have discussed the possible interpretations of that rule (हैंबाव्यों यहिवचनम् or हेबायन्तं यहिवचनम् &c.) in paraphrased and commented sentences, and should not have adopted the same method on P. I, I, 39 (ह्यों मान्तः or हुवन्तं यन्मान्तम्); or why he should have discussed the propriety of the Anubandha न of हेब् &c., on P. I, I, II without employing paraphrased sentences, and should, when considering the same question with regard to the Anubandha न in P. I, I, I, have opened the discussion with a paraphrased sentence.

The conclusion to which we are led by these considerations would again seem to be this, that, whenever the author of the Mahâbhâshya in the discussion of Pâṇini's rules makes use of sentences to which he attaches a paraphrase and comment, he, while doing so, is quoting and commenting on the words of another scholar, and that those portions of the discussion which do not consist of paraphrased sentences contain original remarks of Patanjali's, remarks, I may add, which adduce additional evidence in support of, or corrections of, the statements of that other scholar, or discuss questions which had not been raised by him. And there is, I believe, even in that small portion of the Mahabhashya on which mainly I have based this enquiry, evidence sufficient to prove that the paraphrased and commented sentences are not of Patanjali's authorship. I have mentioned already that in one instance at least (on P. I, 1,10) the author of the Mahabhashya does not merely give us his own interpretation of the sentences by means of which he carries on the discussion, but also quotes the different interpretation of the very same sentences by another scholar. I may now add a similar instance which occurs in the discussion on P. I, 1,69. After having paraphrased and commented on the three sentences

सवर्णेऽण्यहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतियहणात् । अनन्यत्वाच । अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः ।

Patanjali goes on to say : अपर आर ।

सवर्णेऽण्यहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतियहणादनन्यत्वम् । सवर्णेऽण्यहणमपरिभाष्यम् । आकृतियहणादनन्यत्वं भविष्यति । अनन्याकृतिरकारस्याकारस्य च । अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः ।

Here then Patanjali informs us that another scholar has not only given a different interpretation, but has also adopted a different reading, of those very sentences which Patanjali himself has just been making use of. Could we wish for stronger proof that at any rate these sentences cannot be Patanjali's own?

Again, after having on P. I, 1, 3 paraphrased the sentence सर्वावेदावसङ्खानिगन्तस्य in the words सर्वावेदाध गुणो अनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति। Patanjali shows that so understood the sentence would be open to objection, and he therefore proposes another paraphrase and another explanation of the same sentence, which he introduces thus: एवं तर्हि नायं वोषसमुख्य: । पूर्वापेक्षो असं ब्रोप: । हार्थे चार्व चः (i.e. the च of सर्वादेशका) पडितः.—In other words, Patanjali tells us that it would be possible to understand the particle & of the sentence सर्वा देशप्रसङ्ख्यानिगन्तस्य either in its ordinary sense or in the sense of fe, and in doing so, and by the manner in which he introduces his second explanation, he, in my opinion, clearly shows that he is commenting on the words of another. And the same conclusion we have to draw from another remark of his, on P. I, 1, 63; in which he informs us that the particle च of the paraphrased sentence क्रमेर्नियेखं च does not stand in its proper place, but should have been placed, or should at any rate be understood to stand, immediately after क्रमेः (अवेदो ५ वं पा पठितः । क्रमेश्र वीर्घलम् ।).

i will not try the patience of the reader by adducing many more instances which would all point to the same conclusion, but I cannot refrain from drawing attention to at least two others, because they somewhat differ from those which I have given above. On P. I, I, 38 the discussion is carried on by means of the following paraphrased sentences:

- (a) असर्वविभक्तावविभक्तिनिमित्तस्योपसंख्यानम् |
- (b) सर्वविभक्तिर्धविशेषात् l
- (c) चलादीनां चोपसंख्यानम् |
- (d) अविभक्तावितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः ।
- (e) अलिङ्गमसंख्यमिति वा ।
- (/) सिदंतु पाटान् !!

(a-c) show that Panini's rule has to be corrected; (d) and (e) show that two alterations of the rule which might possibly be suggested, can, on account of the objection to which they would be open, and which has been stated in (d), not be adopted; (f) on the other hand states that the corrections mentioned in (a-c) need not be made, and that the alterations suggested in (d) and (e) need not be adopted, as soon as all the Taddhitaaffixes intended in Panini's rule are put down in the Gana svarådi. The statement made in (f) is opposed to the suggestion made in (e), and the particle a in (f) is in its proper place and has its usual force. But if we turn to the paraphrase of (f), we find that there g 'but' has been rendered by ar 'or' (पाटाबा सिखमेतत्). How are we to account for this rendering? By the simple fact that Patanjali, after commenting on (e), has shown that the objection to which the alteration suggested in (e) was by the author of the paraphrased sentences considered to be liable, is in reality no objection at all. Patanjali adopts the definition अलिङ्गसंख्यमन्ययम् which was objected to in '(e) and for him therefore the course indicated in (f) is only an alternative course. His rendering of a by a is inexplicable as long as we consider the paraphrased sentences (e) and (f)as his own; it admits of a reasonable explanation when we regard them as statements made by another. And that this is the view held by the commentators, follows from Kaiyata's gloss: सिद्धं खिति । वात्तिककारस्येतरेतराश्रयदीयः स्थित एवेति तुसन्दि विशेषप्रदर्शनार्थः। भाष्यकारेण विवतरेतराश्रयदीयः परिहत इति वासन्दार्थस्तुसन्दे ज्याख्यातः।

On P. I, 1, 61 we find the following paraphrased sentences:

- (a) लुमित प्रत्ययमहणमप्रत्ययसंज्ञापतिषेधार्थम् ।
- (४) प्रयोजनं तिद्धतलुकि कंसीयपरश्चययोर्लुकि च गोप्रकृ-तिनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ।
- (c) · उक्तं वा 1
- (d) पशीनिर्देशार्थं तु l
- (e) अनिर्देशे हि पष्टचर्यामसिदिः l
- (f) सर्वादेशार्थं वा वचनप्रामाण्यात् I

Ine object of the whole discussion is to prove the necessity of the word quart in Panini's rule; one reason for the employment of प्रथ्यस्य is given in (d-e), and another alternative reason in (f). Such being the case, the particle of in (f) would seem to stand in its proper place and to convey the meaning which it usually conveys. But if we again turn to Patanjali's paraphrase of (f), we find that he has rendered at by affe, a word which he elsewhere makes use of to paraphrase the particle #. The reason for this rendering of his is similar to that for his rendering 7 on P. I, 1, 38 by 77. After having commented on (d-s), Patanjali has shown that प्रस्त्रवस्य for the reason stated in (d-t) would not be necessary; and to him therefore (f) does not convey an alternative reason for the employment of प्रथम्ब. In his opinion preserve is not necessary for the reason given in (d-e), but it is necessary for the reason given in (f). His rendering of ar by aff is explained, as soon as and only when we assume that the paraphrased sentences (d-f) are not his own but another's. And here again we are able to quote Kaiyata in support of the view we have taken; for in commenting on (f) that commentator remarks: षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थंत्वं तु स्थितमेवेति वार्ति-ककारेण विकल्पार्थो वाराब्दः प्रयुक्तः । . . . भाष्यकारस्तु तहाँर्थे वाराद्दं ब्याचक्षा-णः षश्चीनिर्वेशार्थस्यं नेच्छति ।

I have shown in the preceding that the method of discussion followed in the Mahabhashya is distinctly twofold; I have attempted to account for this twofold method by assuming that those sentences made use of in the discussion of Panini's rules, which we find to be accompanied by paraphrase- and comment, are not of Patanjali's authorship; and I have tried to render this assumption probable by drawing attention to the manner in which those sentences have been paraphrased and commented on in various passages of the Mahâbhâshya. I may be told now that, if then only that portion of the Mahabhashya which does not consist of paraphrased sentences were Patanjali's, and if the paraphrased sentences themselves had really to be considered as proceeding from another author, we might well expect that the two parts of the work, being in reality works by different authors, should differ as regards their respective styles and the language employed in either of them. So far from regarding such an objection as hostile to the view which I have ventured to express, I gladly avail myself of it, to adduce the difference of style and of language as additional evidence in favour of the assumption that the paraphrased sentences do not belong to the author of the rest of the Mahâbhâshya. I cannot pretend to undertake at present to show that difference in all its details; all I shall attempt to do here, is to illustrate it by a few characteristic instances.

Very often the question is raised in the Mahabhashya whether a particular term employed in Panini's rules conveys one meaning or another, whether we are to understand a rule in one sense or in another, whether a particular term should be understood to be qualified in this or in that way, whether a rule should be regarded as teaching something independently of other rules or as a restrictive rule, &c. In all these cases it is customary to place before the reader both sides of the question and to state the objections to which either side would be liable. And here we have to observe that whenever this is done by means of paraphrased sentences, the particles employed are always as or the such sentences the particle used is invariably

यादे, generally followed by अथ. In proof of this I adduce from the paraphrased sentences:
On P. I, 1, 3—(किं पुनरयमलोऽन्त्यदोष आहोस्विदलोऽन्त्या-
पवादः [)
वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदि महणम् ।
इङ्मात्रस्येति चेज्जुसि प्रतिषेधः I
On P. I, 1, 11—(कथं पुनरिदं विज्ञायते !)
ईदादयो यद्विवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेदन्त्यस्य विधिः ।
ईदाद्यन्तं यद्भिवचनमिति चेदेकस्य विधिः ।
ईदाद्यन्तं यद्वियचनान्तमिति चेङ्गिकि प्रतिषेधः ।
On P. I, 1, 45—(किमियं वाक्यस्य संप्रसारणसंज्ञा क्रियते
आहोस्विद्वर्णस्य ।)
संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्वर्णविधिः ।
वर्णसंज्ञा चेचिर्वृत्तिः ।
.On P. I, 1, 51—(किमिदमुरण्रपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थम्
आहोस्विद्रपरत्वमात्रमनेन विधीयते ।)
जरण्रपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति चेदुदात्तादिषु दोषः I
य उः स्थानेऽण् स रपर इति चेद्रुणवृद्धचोरवर्णाप्रतिपत्तिः।
On P. I, 1, 57—(किं पुनरन्तरस्य विधि प्रति स्थानिवद्भाव आ-
होस्वित्पूर्वमात्रस्य ।)
अनन्तरस्य चेदेकाननुदात्त पूपसंख्यानम् ।
पूर्वमात्रस्येति चेदुपधाहस्यत्वम् ।
(किं पुनराश्रीयमाणायां प्रकृतौ स्थानिवद्भवत्याहोस्विदविद्रोषेण।)
अविदेषिण स्थानिवदिति चेहोपयणादेशे गुरुविधिः ।
महणेषु स्थानिवदिति चेज्जग्ध्यादिष्वादेशप्रतिषेधः ।
On P. I, 1, 65—(किमिदमल्पहणमन्त्यविदोषणम्)
उपधासंज्ञायामल्यहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत्संघातप्रतिषेधः ।

On P. I, 1, 70—(किं पुनिरदं नियमार्थमाहोस्वित्नापकम् । . .) तपरस्तत्कालस्येति नियमार्थमिति चेद्दीर्घ० . . . बहणम् । प्रापकमिति चेद्धस्वयहणे दीर्घष्ठतप्रतिषेधः ।

To show how the same or similar questions are discussed when no paraphrases are employed, I instance—

On P. I, 1, 1—(किं पुनरिदं तद्भावितग्रहणम् . . . आहोस्विदा-दैज्मात्रस्य | . . .)

यदि तज्ञावितयहणं न प्राप्नोति । अथादैज्मावस्य यहणं . . . प्राप्नोति ।

On P. I, 1, 20—(कथिमदं विज्ञायते |)
यदि विज्ञायते दाधाः प्रकृतयः स एव दोषः |
अथ विज्ञायते दाधां प्रकृतय इति . . . न स्यात् |

On P. I, 1, 39—(कथिमदं विज्ञायते कृषो मान्त इत्याहोस्वित्कृ-दन्तं यनमान्तिमति ।)

यदि विज्ञायते कृद्यो मान्त इति . . . न प्राप्नोति । अथ विज्ञायते कृदन्तं यन्मान्तमिति . . . प्राप्नोति ।

On P. I, 1, 50—(सा किं प्रकृतिनो भवति . . . आहोस्विदादे-द्यातः . . . |)

यदि प्रकृतित इको . . . | आदेशतो . . . दोषः |

On P. I, 1,52—(किमिदमल्यहणमन्त्यविद्योषणमाहोस्विदादेदावि-द्योषणम् । . . .)

यद्यन्त्यविशेषणमादेशो अविशेषितो भवति ।

The difference of expression between the passages quoted from the discussions on P. I, 1, 11 and 65 on the one hand, and from P. I, 1, 39 and 52 on the other, is particularly instructive, because the questions raised and discussed are in either cases exactly the same.

No reader of the Mahâbhâshya can have failed to perceive that frequently objections are raised to Panini's rules, alterations proposed and additional rules suggested. But it not seldom happens that in the course of the discussion these objections are shown to be unfounded, the alterations to be uncalled for, or the additional rules to be unnecessary. And here again we have to notice a striking difference of expression as between the paraphrased sentences and the rest of the Mahabhashya; for in the case of the former those objections, &c., are most usually refuted in sentences commencing with the words of or सिद्धं न, generally followed by a noun in the ablative case; while in the latter the same object is attained by such expressions as नैय दोषः, तत्तांह वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् , followed by a complete sentence which takes the place of the ablative case of the paraphrased sentences. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this difference of expression :-

On P. I, 1, 39 we have the paraphrased sentence न वा संनिपा-तलक्षणी विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्येति; on P. I, 1, 20 not paraphrased स तर्हि प्रतिषेधी वक्तव्यः। न वक्तव्यः। पुसंज्ञा कस्मान भवति। संनिपातलक्षणी विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्येरयेषं न भविष्यतिः

On P. VI, 4, 130 the paraphrased sentence न वा निर्दिश्यमान-स्यादेशत्वात् on P. I, 1, 47 and 51 not paraphrased नैप द्वाप:। निर्दिश्य-मानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येवं न भविष्यतिः

On P. VI, 2, 2 the paraphrased sentence सिद्धं तु लक्षणप्रतिपदी-क्तयोः प्रतिपदीक्तस्यैव पहणात्; on P. I, 1, 15 not paraphrased न वक्तव्यः। लक्षणप्रतिपदीक्तयोः प्रतिपदीक्तस्यैत्येवं न भविष्यति.

On P. VI, 1, 1, the paraphrased sentence सिन्दं तु तहुणसंविज्ञाना-त्याणिनेर्यथा लोके; on P. I, 1, 27 not paraphrased नैय दायः। भवति हि बहुत्रीही तहुणसंविज्ञानमपि

A common artifice of refuting an objection—less frequently resorted to in the paraphrased sentences than in the rest of the Mahâbhâshya—is to show that that objection has been indirectly guarded against by Pâṇini himself; in other words, to point out a Indpaka. When this is done in the paraphrased sentences, we find, so far as I have observed, invariably the noun

ज्ञापक followed by another noun in the genetive case; in the remainder of the Mahâbhâshya we always have instead some such verbal phrase as ज्ञापबत्याचार्यः, आचार्यपद्गिज्ञांपयति. Instances of the latter mode of expression are of the most frequent occurrence. From the paraphrased sentences I quote:

On P. I, 1, 11—सप्तम्यामर्थमहणं ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधस्य; On P. I, 1, 45—विभक्तिविद्रोषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य; On P. I, 1, 59—अज्यहणं तु ज्ञापकं रूपस्थानिवद्भावस्य; and ओ: पुयण्जिषु वचनं ज्ञापकं णौ स्थानिवद्भावस्य.

And this leads me to draw attention generally to the almost entire absence of verbal forms from the paraphrased sentences, which absence, in my opinion, constitutes one of their chief characteristics of style, as compared with the style of the unparaphrased portion of the Mahabhashya. In cases where in the latter we meet with such verbal forms or expressions as पामातिः विभेयः, नापपदातेः वक्तव्यः, इति वक्तव्यम्, न वक्तव्यम्, परुणं न कर्त-व्यम्, महणं शक्यमकतुम्, we are sure to meet in the former, nouns such as प्रसङ्कः, विधिः, अनुपपत्तिः, वचनम्, अवचनम्, अमहणम्; and in many instances it is altogether left to ourselves to complete the sentence by supplying some verb or phrase such as भवति, भविष्यतिः स्यात्, क्रियते, प्राप्तातिः सिध्यति, न सिध्यति, कर्तेष्यम्, वक्तव्यम्, इति वक्त व्यम, &c. On P. I, I, 8 where the word मुख of Panini's rule is stated to be superfluous, the unparaphrased sentence which contains this statement is मुखमहणे शक्यमकर्मम्; on P. I, 1, 23 where the same remark is made with reference to the words ag &c. of that rule, the paraphrased sentence made use of for the purpose reads simply बहादीनामग्रहणम्. On P. I, 1, 36 and 75 we find the additional or corrective rules अपुरीति वन्तव्यम्, एर प्राचां देशे रीपिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम्, to which no paraphrase has been attached; so far as my knowledge goes, no paraphrased sentence ever concludes with the phrase इति वक्तस्यम्

If these considerations should have rendered probable the supposition that the paraphrased sentences are not of Patanjali's authorship, and that the author of the Mahâbhâshya has merely commented on them, and supplemented and cor-

rected the statements contained in them, by his own original remarks, that probability will be raised to a certainty, when we consider the manner in which Patanjali has referred to them and to their author in the uncommented portions of his work. The Mahâbháshya being a work on Pânini's grammar, it is natural that Patanjali, in such words as प्रति, कराति, शास्ति, जापयति, 'he reads', 'he teaches,' &c. should have referred to Pânini, without being under the necessity of telling us that he was citing or referring to Panini. Moreover, I have had occasion to state elsewhere that wherever reference is thus made to Panini, the context would show at once and beyond doubt that the subject of the verbs प्रति, करोति &c. can be no other than Panini. But there remain very many verbs of this kind for which it is impossible to supply the subject 'Paṇini'; in all these cases the reference made is, so far as my own observation goes, invariably to paraphrased sentences. The verbal forms belonging to this class which occur in that part of the Mahabhashya which treats of the rules of the first Pada, are :

On page 556 of the Lith. Ben. Ed. 45fa; the paraphrased sentence referred to follows immediately upon प्रति :

P. 596 वस्यति; refers to a paraphrased sentence on the same page;

P. 666 usufa; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 47;

P. 69a arafa; to a paraphrased sentence on the next page;

P. 72a वश्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 1, 101;

P. 776 quafe; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I. 4, 14;

P. 866 वस्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI. I, I;

बस्यात ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 3, 59 ;

P. 88a बहुबति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 72;

P. 99a बस्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. II, 2, 35 ;

. P. 996 वश्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. II, 2, 35; पश्यात ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. II, 2, 35 ;

P. 102a वस्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 2, 2;

P. 1066 arafa; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 2, 3;

P. 117a वस्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 4, 72;

P. 133a चोड्यिञ्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 56 ;

P. 1396 वस्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 58;

P. 1416 वस्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 2, 23;

P. 146b वस्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VII, 3, 54;

P. 1486 वस्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. IV, 3, 163 ;

P. 156b वश्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on the next page;

P. 1576 वस्यति; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 4, 34;

P. 1596 चोविष्यंति; to a paraphrased sentence on P.VIII,2,107;

P. 1644 पश्यनि; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 1, 186.

It is hardly necessary to tell the reader that the manner in which Patanjali here invariably speaks of the author of the paraphrased sentences, in no way differs from the manner in which other commentators continually speak, not of themselves, but of those authors on whose works they happen to be commenting, and since there is no doubt that Patanjali has commented on those sentences, it is natural to conclude that those sentences are not his own, but are the work of another. And this conclusion is further strengthened, when we find that in such expressions as quality e.g. on page 75 b of the Benares Edn., or apage aliquit e.g. on pages 143b and 151a, the author of those sentences* is actually spoken of by Patanjali as the Acharya, in the same way in which Patanjali elsewhere speaks of the Acharya Panini.

The first part of our enquiry is drawing to a close. Considering it unlikely that an author in the composition of one and the same work should have adopted two methods of discussion so different as those which Patanjali would seem to have adopted in his Mahâbhâshya, we ventured to assume that those portions of the Mahâbhâshya which have been furnished by him with paraphrase and comment, were not his own. That assumption we tried to render probable by pointing out that the manner in which Patanjali in various passages of his work has been paraphrasing and commenting, admits of a reasonable explanation only when we assume that he was commenting on and paraphrasing the words of another. We then showed that the paraphrased portions of the Mahâbhâshya in style and language differ from the rest of that work as we

^{*} See on P. VI, 1, 129; VI, 4, 104; and VI, 1, 12.

might expect the works of two different authors to differ from each other. And we finally pointed out that by the manner in which he continually refers to and quotes the paraphrased sentences and their author, Patanjali himself has clearly shown to us that that author must be another than himself. Fortunately we are not left without the means of ascertaining who that author was. For since Patanjali, when e.g. quoting on P. I, 1, 34, a paraphrased sentence from the discussion on P. VIII, 3, 13, incidentally, but obliged to be more explicit than usual because only in the preceding line and for one and the same purpose he had been quoting the Acharya Panini, has told us that that paraphrased sentence is the Varttikakara's, it is clear that that author was called Varttikakara. And since the same Patanjali, after having on P. III, 2, 118, in his usual manner paraphrased a sentence, has in the sequel informed us that that sentence is Kâtyâyana's, it is equally clear that the name of that Vårttikakåra was Kåtykyana.

The conclusion then at which we have arrived is this, that the paraphrased sentences which we meet with in the Mahabhâshya belong to Kâtyâyana, the author of the Vârttikas; and this conclusion furnishes us with a means, in my opinion the only means, of reconstructing from the text of the Mahabhashya, as it has been handed down to us in MS., the text of the Varttikas of Katyayana. We may as yet consider it matter for further enquiry whether all the Varttikas of Katyayana have been recorded by Patanjali; but wherever in the Mahâbhâshya we meet with a paraphrased statement, of which Patanjali does not tell us explicitly that it belongs to another or to others, or of which the context does not prove clearly and beyond doubt that it is a quotation from the work of another, we shall regard ourselves as bound to assume that such statement is Kâtyâyana's, or in other words, that it is a Varttika or part of one. On the other hand, we shall not allow ourselves to regard as a Vårttika of Kåtyåyana any statement unless it be accompanied by a paraphrase.*

^{*} If in accordance with this principle we examine the passages from the Mahâbhâshya quoted by Prof. Goldstücker in notes 141-152 of

applying this principle, we may occasionally find it difficult to decide whether a particular statement should be regarded as merely paraphrasing another statement by which it is preceded, or as an explanatory remark such as an author might think it necessary to append to a statement previously made by himself. But, on the one hand, to judge from my own experience, such cases are exceedingly rare; on the other hand, the more we become familiar with the manner, the style, and the language of Kåtyåyana by the study of what undoubtedly is his, the easier and the more ready will be our decision in cases which at first sight may appear to us doubtful.

There is yet another difficulty which is intimately connected. with and which results from the manner in which Patanjali has paraphrased the Varttikas of Katyayana. I have found it convenient to employ throughout the preceding investigation the word paraphrase, but it would have been more correct to say that frequently Patanjali does not paraphrase but literally repeats the words of the Varttika which he happens to make use of. If I might venture to give a reason for his doing so, I would say that Patanjali adopted that practice in order to apprise us of the fact that he was giving us not his own arguments but those of Katyayana; in other words, to save the literary property of that scholar. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the very practice which he adopted, through the carelessness of the copyists, has in many cases led to the disappearance of Varttikas from our MSS., and consequently from the only complete edition of the Mahabhashya which has been published up to the present. One example will suffice to prove this.

his Pāṇini, we find that Prof. Goldstücker has correctly termed. Vārttikas इन्ध्रेश्कन्दों on P. I, 2, 6 (note 141); इतराच्छन्दिं on P. VII, 1, 26 (note 142); यरों अनुनासिके on P. VIII, 4, 45, (note 143); वा गोमयेषु on P. IV, 2, 129 (note 152). On the other hand, the statements विकिरो बीत बक्तन्यम् on P. VI, 1, 150 (note 145); आवर्षमहुत इति व on P. VI, 1, 147 (note 147); भोज्यम-यवहार्यमिति व on P. VII, 3, 69 (note 148); पथ्य-याय इति व on P. IV, 2, 129 (note 152); which also have been termed Vārttikas by Prof. Goldstücker and other scholars, are no Vārttikas, but are Patanjali's,

On pages 149 a and b of the Lithog. Benares Edn., we read as follows:—

किं प्रयोजनम् । क्सलोपः सलोपे । क्सलोपः सलोपे प्रयोजनम् ।
. . . . दध आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे प्रयोजनम् ।
हलो यमां यमि लोपे प्रयोजनम् । अङ्गोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु प्रयोजनम् । द्विवचनादीनि च प्रयोजनानि
न पितन्त्रयानि भवन्ति । वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम् । वरेयलोपं स्वरं च वर्जयित्वा ।

According to what I have said in the preceding, this passage would seem to contain only two Varttikas, vis. बसलोपः सलोपे and बरेबलोपस्वरबर्जम्, for apparently only these two statements have been paraphrased by Patanjali. A comparison of other Varttikas of Kâtyâyana (on P. I, 1, 21, 39, &c.) would make us feel inclined to read the first of these Vârttikas प्रवेशननं बसलोपः सलोपे, and we would willingly recognize Vârttikas also in क्य आ-कारलोपे, हली बमां, अलोपे, and बिवेबनावीनिं, were we not forbidden to do so by the result of our enquiry. We now turn to Prof. Goldstücker's photo-lithograph copy of the Mahâbhāshya, and find that there the same passage is read thus:—

Here we find that the first Vârttika is really read as we expected that it should be read, प्रयोजनं वसलोपः सलोपं, and we perceive at once that the first word प्रयोजनं has been omitted in the Benares edition because it was preceded by the same word प्रयोजनं in कि प्रयोजनम्. We further see from the figure २ after लोपे and प्रश्तिषु that the words हलो यमां यिम लोपे and आहो-पिल्होपो संयोगान्तलोपप्रशृतिषु have to be read twice; and the words

विषेचनावीनि च we find actually written twice. Such being the case, the result of our enquiry tells us that हली यमां यमि लोपे, अही-पणिलोपी संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु, and द्विवंचनादीनि च which we were inclined to regard as Varttikas, are Varttikas, omitted in the Benares edition, or in the MSS. from which it has been prepared, because the paraphrases by which those Varttikas are followed commence with identically the same words. And having found it proved in this manner, that at least three of the four statements which we were inclined to regard as Varttikas, are Varttikas, we shall not I trust be accused of rashness when we venture to assume that also the fourth of those statements, व्य आकारलीप आविचन्यंखे, is really a Varttika, omitted also in the photo-lithograph copy, because the writer forgot to write the figure ? after the word आविष्तुर्थस्व . The Varttikas which the above passage contains, are therefore not two, but six:

- ा. प्रयोजनं क्सलोपः सलोपे.
- दथ आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे.
- 3. इलो यमां यमि लोपे.
 - 4. अलोपणिलोपी संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु.
 - 5. हिर्वचनादीनि च.
 - 6. वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम्.

In a similar manner Vårttikas have disappeared on page 162a of the Benares edition, on page 168b, 169b, 173b, 177b, and elsewhere. Here then our only safeguard is not to trust to one or two indifferent MSS., but to compare in every instance the best and oldest MSS. which we may be able to lay hold of.

III.

There is in my opinion no better way of testing the soundness of the conclusion at which we have arrived in the preceding, than practically to apply the principle with which it has furnished us, for the reconstruction of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas. But as want of space would forbid such a reconstruction on any

large scale, I am obliged to confine my attempt in this direction to a small portion of the Mahabhashya. I shall choose for the purpose first the 7th Ahnika of the first Pada, which treats of Panini's rules I, 1, 45-55. After having pointed out the Varttikas which occur in the discussion of each rule, I shall, in as few words as possible, point out their tendency, and shall show (in italics) what Patanjali's views are in regard to them, or whether he has raised any points of discussion regarding the rules of Panini, which have not been noticed by Katyayana; but I shall not think it necessary expressly to state in each case that Patanjali has simply commented on or adopted a particular Varttika. In notes I shall indicate whether any portions of the discussion have incidentally been called Varttikas by Kaiyata, Nagojibhatta or Bhattojidikshita (in his Šabdakaustubha), and shall also state what Varttikas or other remarks from the Mahabhashya the editors of the Calcutta edition of Panini have thought fit to append to their gloss. Having, in this manner, gone through the whole of the 7th Ahnika, I shall subject the discussions on some other rules of the first Pada to a similar examination.

P. I, 1, 45—इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् || Varttikas:

- (a) संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्रर्णविधिः ॥
- (b) वर्णसंज्ञा चेचिर्वृत्तिः ||
- (c) विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य ||
- (a) and (b) state the objections to which the two possible interpretations of Pâṇini's rule would be liable; (ε) shows why both interpretations are nevertheless admissible.

Patanjali agrees with Kâtydyana; and shows subsequently how the objections to either interpretation may be refuted also in other ways.

> Note.—The Calcutta edition gives no Varttikas, nor any remarks of Patanjali's.

P. I, 1, 46— आद्यन्ती टकिती ||

Vårttikas:

- (a) टकितोराद्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः ||
- (b) परवचनात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नापवादत्वात् ||
- (c) सिद्धं तु पष्टचिथकारे वचनात् ||
- (d) आद्यन्तयोवी षष्टचर्यत्वात्तद्भावेऽसंप्रत्ययः ॥

Patanjali commences with remarks on the terms of Panini's rule and on Agamas in general.

- (a) suggests a correction, and (b) obviates an objection that might be raised to (a).
- (c) and (d) show in different ways that the correction suggested in (a) is unnecessary.

Note.—The Calcutta edition gives the Varttikas
(a) and (c), but states in the words दृति भाष्यम्
that (c) is a remark of Patanjali's.

P. I, 1, 47— मिदचो अन्त्यात्परः ॥

Varttikas:

- (a) मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः स्थानपरमत्ययस्यापवादः ॥
- (b) अन्त्यात्पूर्वी मस्जेर्मिदनुषङ्कसंयोगादिलोपार्थम् ॥
- (e) भर्जिमच्येशि ||
- (d) अभक्ते दीर्घनलोपस्वरणत्वानुस्वारशीभावाः ॥
- (८) परादी गुणवृद्धचौत्त्वदीर्घनलोपानुस्वारशीमावेनकारप्रति-षेधाः ॥
- (f) पूर्वान्ते न्पुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं द्विगुस्वरश्च ।।
- (g) न वा बहिरङ्गुरुक्षणस्वात् ||
 - (a) states the object of Panini's rule.
 - (b) and (c) correct that rule.*
 Patanjali refutes (c).

^{*} The Varitika (e) presupposes another etymology of मरीचि than the one given in Unadisatra IV. 70.

(d—f) consider the question whether the augment (বুম্) is to stand by itself or to be attached to what follows or precedes it; the question is decided in favour of the last alternative, for the faults arising on that alternative are refuted in (g).

Patanjali agrees with Katyayana and supports the conclusion at which he has arrived by an argument of his own.

Note.—(b) is quoted by Patanjali on P. I, 1, 7
(वश्यस्थातत् । अन्त्यास् ⁰⁰र्धामति) ; (b) is called a Vârttika by Bhaṭṭojidikshita; (d) and (e) by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa. The Calcutta edition gives only the Vârttikas (b) and (c), the former incorrectly. The Nyâya which it quotes is identical in purpose with remarks made by Patanjali.

P. I, 1, 48- एच इग्मस्वादेशे ||

Varttikas:

- (a) एच इग्बचनं सवर्णाकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ||
- (b) दीर्घापसङ्कस्तु निवर्तकस्वात् II
- (c) सिद्धमेङः सस्थानत्वात् ॥
- (d) ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् ॥*
- (a) states the objects of Panini's rule.
- (b) refutes a possible objection.
- (c) and (d) show that the objects for which the rule has been given are attained without it, and that the rule is therefore unnecessary.

Note.—(c) and (d) are quoted on Sivasûtra 3 and 4. The Calcutta edition gives no Vârttikas, nor any remarks of Patanjali's.

^{*} The short substitute for \$\tilde{q}\$ is \$\tilde{p}\$ because \$\tilde{q}\$ forms a larger portion of \$\tilde{q}\$ than \$\tilde{q}\$. The word \$\tilde{q}\$\tilde{q}\$ to Patanjali's gloss can in my opinion only mean 'less in number.' One calls a village a Brahmin-village, although some of its inhabitants belong to other castes, because the number of Brahmins who live in it, is greater than the number of inhabitants belonging to other castes. For a different interpretation, see Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 333, note.

P. I, 1, 49-पष्टी स्थानेयोगा ॥

Vårttikas:

- (a) पष्टीस्थानेयोगवचनं नियमार्थम् ||
- (b) अवयवपश्चादिष्वतिपसङ्गः शासो गोह इति ||
- (c) अवयवषष्ठचादीनां चापाप्तिर्योगस्यासंदिग्धत्वात् ।।
 - (d) विशिष्टा वा षष्टी स्थानेयोगा II

Patanjali annotates on the term स्थानेयाना.

- (a) states the object of Panini's rule.
- (b) suggests the objection that if the object of the rule be correctly stated in (a), the rule is too widely applicable.
 - (c) refutes that objection.

Patanjali supports (c) by additional arguments.

(d) suggests a different way of obviating the objection raised in (b).

Patanjali shows that the rule, in the sense ascribed to it, is superfluous, and will retain it only because its adoption allows us to dispense with the Paribhasha निद्यमानस्यावृद्धा भवन्ति. with which Paribhasha he considers it to be identical in meaning.

Note.—(c) and (d) are called Varttikas by Nagojibhaṭṭa.—The Calcutta Edn. gives only the Paribhasha निर्वदयमानस्यादेशा भवन्तिः

P. I, 1, 50-स्थाने उन्तरतमः ॥

Vårttikas:

- (a) स्थानिन एकत्वनिर्देशादनेकादेशनिर्देशाच सर्वप्रसङ्गस्त-स्मात्स्थानेऽन्तरतमवचनं नियमार्थम् ॥
- (४) स्थानेऽन्तर्तमनिर्वर्तके सर्वस्थानिनिवृत्तिः ॥
- (c) निर्वृत्तप्रतिपत्ती निर्वृत्तिः ॥
- (d) अनर्थकं च ||
- (e) उक्तं वा ||
- (f) प्रत्यात्मवचनं च ।।

- (g) प्रत्यात्मवचनमशिष्यं स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् II
- (म) अन्तरतमवचनं च ।।
- (i) ब्यञ्जनस्वरब्यतिक्रमे च तत्कालप्रसङ्गः ॥
- (k) अक्षु चानेकवर्णादेशेषु II
- (1) गुणवृद्धचेज्भावेषु च ।।
- (m) ऋवर्णस्य गुणवृद्धिप्रसङ्गे सर्वप्रसङ्गो अविदोषात् ॥
- (ग) न वा ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने रपरत्रसङ्गादवर्णस्यान्तर्यम् ॥
- (a) सर्वादेशमसङ्गस्त्वनेकाल्त्वान् ।।
- (१) न वानेकाल्स्वस्य तदाश्रयस्वादृवणीदेशस्याविधातः ।।
- (a) संप्रयोगो वा नष्टाश्वदम्धरथवत् ।।
- (r) एजवर्णयोरादेशे ऽवर्ण स्थानिनो ऽवर्णप्रधानत्वात् ॥
- (s) सिद्धं तूभयान्तर्यात् II

Patanjali gives an example for Panini's rule which does not result from any other rule, and which therefore proves that the rule is necessary; he shows why स्थान, which we read in the preceding rule, has been repeated here; and why Panini has employed the superlative अन्तरतम.

(a) shows why Panini was obliged to give this rule, and states the object of the rule.

Patanjali, having accepted this, discusses the question whether the rule should be read स्थानं इन्तरतमे or स्थानं इन्तरतमः, both readings being possible when the rules of Sandhi as between this and the following rule are observed.

(b-d). Does this rule teach something independently of other rules, or does it give certain directions regarding substitutes that have been taught in other rules? The question is decided in favour of the latter alternative, for the objections which were raised to that alternative, are in (e) met by a reference to a statement made before (Vârt. (r) on P. I, I, 3).

Patanjali, when commenting on (b), brings forward another objection in addition to the one raised in the Varttika.

(f) suggests a correction of Panini's rule, which correction

(g) shows to be unnecessary.

(h) states that Pâṇini's rule is unnecessary, because what is taught in it results from the ordinary practice of life. If the rule be nevertheless adopted, it is liable to the objections stated in (i), (k), and (ℓ).

Patanjali refutes these three objections.

(m) suggests the desirability of making a rule that should teach what the Guna and Vriddhi of are; (n) and (q) show that no such rule is required.

Patanjali shows, by giving an additional reason, that such

a rule is not required.

 (a) states an objection which the adoption of (n) would give rise to;
 (p) refutes that objection.

(r) raises an objection to Panini's rule, regarding the sub-

stitute for va + sq; (s) refutes that objection.

Note.—(1) is called a Vârttika by Nâgojibhaţţa;
(0), (p), and (q) are called Vârttikas by
Bhaţtojidikshita. The Calcutta Edn. gives
no Vârttikas; the Paribhâshâ quoted is
taken from Patanjali's remarks.

P. I, 1, 51—जरण्रपर: ||

- Vårttikas:
- (a) उरण्रपरवचनमन्यिनवृत्त्यर्थिमिति चेदुदात्तादिषु दोषः ।।
 (b) य उः स्थानेऽण् स रपर इति चेदुणवृद्धचोरवर्णाप्रतिपत्तिः ।।
 - (c) सिदं नु प्रसङ्के रपरत्वात् ||
 - (d) आदेशो रपर इति चेद्रीरिविधिषु रपरप्रतिषेधः ||
 - (८) उदात्तादिषु च ॥
 - (f) एकादेशस्योपसंख्यानम् ||
 - (g) अवयवमहणात्सिद्धमिति चेदादेशे रान्तप्रतिषेधः ॥
 - (h) अभक्ते दीर्घलत्वयगभ्यस्तस्वरहलादिः शेषिवसर्जनीयपतिषेधः प्रत्ययाच्यवस्था च ॥

(i) पूर्वान्ते र्ववधारणं विसर्जनीयमतिषेधो यक्स्वरश्च ||

(k) परादावकार लोपीत्वपुक्पतिषेधश्व ङ चुपधाहस्य त्विमिटी ऽञ्यव-स्थाभ्यासलोपो ऽभ्यस्ततादिस्वरो दीर्घत्वं च ॥

(a) and (b) state the objections to which two possible interpretations of Pāṇini's rule would be liable; (ε) suggests the correct interpretation of that rule.

(d) and (e) refute the possible objection that Panini should have said merely क रवर: (i. e. उराहेको रपर:) instead of उरप्रपर: (f) demands an additional rule, and (g) obviates an objection to that rule.

Patanjali shows that the additional rule is not required.*

(h—k) discuss the same question in regard to the augment \(\text{\text{T}}, \) which had been discussed in Varttikas (d—f) on I, I, 47, with regard to the augment \(\text{T}, \) without distinctly deciding which alternative should be adopted.

Patanjali refutes some of the objections raised to the first and last alternatives, and all those to which the adoption of the view expressed in (i) was stated to be liable.

Note.—(b) is called a Varttika by Bhattoji-dikshita, and (d), (h), and (k) are called Varttikas by Nagojibhatta. The Calcutta Edn. gives the four Varttikas (d—g), the last of them incorrectly.

P. I, 1, 52—अलोऽन्त्यस्य || Vårttikas :

- (a) अलोऽन्त्यस्थेति स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहारः ||
- (४) इतरथा ह्यनिष्टपसङ्गः ॥
- (c) योगशेषे च 11

Patanjali discusses the question whether असः is a genitive qualifying अन्यास्य, or a nominative (plural) qualifying the Adesa.

^{*} Patanjali in his remarks quotes a Varttika on P. VIII, 4, 31 which he paraphrases in the usual manner.

(a-c) show the correct way of applying Pâṇini's rule.
Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives no Vârttikas.

P. I, 1, 53—[多電]] Vårttika:

(a) ताति ङि त्करणस्य सावकाशत्वादिप्रतिषेधात्सर्वादेशः ॥

(a) shows why तातङ is not substituted for the final only, in other words, refutes an objection that might be raised to Pâṇini's rule.

Patanjali rejects Kātyāyana's explanation, and substitutes for it another.

Note.—The Varttika is given inaccurately in the Calcutta Edn.

P. I, 1, 54-आदे: परस्य || Vårttika:

(a) अलोऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यानेकाल्झित्सर्वस्येत्यपवादविप्रतिषे-भात्सर्वादेशः ।।

(a) a remark regarding the scope of this rule and of the next. Note.—The Calcutta Edn. does not give the Vârttika.

P. I, 1, 55-अनेकाल्झिस्सर्वस्य ॥

No Varttika.

Patanjali shows that जिन्, since it would otherwise be superfluous, indicates the existence of the Paribhasha नानुबन्धकृतमनेका-ल्प्यं भवति, and he states that that Paribhasha renders two Varttikas (on III, 1, 94 and I, 1, 20) unnecessary.

Note.-The Calcutta Edn. gives the Paribhasha.

The above are all the rules discussed in the 7th Ahnika; in the following I propose to examine the discussions on P. I, 1, 1; 6; 25; 36; 39; 65; 68; 72; and 75.

P. I, 1, 1—वृद्धिरादेच् ॥ Vårttikas:

- (a) संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः ||
- (b) इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके II



- (c) संज्ञासंज्यसंदेहश्य ||
- (d) आचार्याचारात्संज्ञासिदिः ||
- (e) यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु ||
- (f) संज्ञासंज्यसंदेहथ ||
- (g) अनाकृतिः॥
- (4) तिङ्गेन वा ।।
- (i) सतो वृद्धचादिषु संज्ञाभावात्तदाश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप-सिद्धिः ।।
- (4) सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दस्वात् ।।
- (1) किमर्थ शास्त्रमिति चेचिवर्तकत्वास्ति अम् ॥
- (m) अन्यत्र सहवचनारसमुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः ।।
- (ग) प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः ॥
- (o) आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम् ॥

Patanjali justifies the च of आवेच ; he discusses the question whether आवेच means every आ. ऐ. and औ, or only those which are taught in grammar by the term वृद्धि

(a) and (b) demand a Saminadhikara, and (c) demands besides that it should be stated distinctly what is meant to be the Samina, whether বৃদ্ধি or সাইস্. (d—h) refute (a—c).

Patanjali does not approve of the way in which Katyayana has refuted (a-c), and he therefore refutes those Varttikas differently.

- (i) raises an objection, which is refuted in (k); (I) answers a question to which (k) gives rise.
- (m) and (n) refute the possible objection that Panini should have said দক্ষম in this and the next rule.

Patanjali does not approve of the way in which Katydyana has refuted the objection.

(o) states why Panini has affixed a to Mr.

Patanjali does not approve of the Varttika, and gives another reason for the π .

Note.—(a) and (b) are called Vårttikas by Kaiyata; (i), (k), (l), and (o) by Bhattojidikshita. The Calcutta Edn. gives the Vårttikas (a), (c), and (o), the last incorrectly; it also gives as a Vårttika प्रत्येकं पुणवृद्धिके भवतः, but this is a remark of Patanjali's by which he introduces the Vårttika (m).

P. I, 1, 6-दीधीवेवीटाम् ॥

Vårttikas:

 (a) दिधीवेब्योश्छन्दोविषयत्वादृष्टानुविधित्वाच च्छन्दसोऽदीधे-ददीधयुरिति गुणदर्शनादप्रतिषेधः ||

(b) दीध्यदिति च इयन्व्यत्ययेन II

(a) and (b) show that द्वारियों may be omitted from Panini's rule.

Patanjali states that to is likewise unnecessary.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. quotes part of (a) but states that it is a remark of Patanjali's.

P. I, 1, 25-36 च 11

No Varttika.

Patanjali shows that either the sta of 1, 1, 23 or the sta of this rule may be omitted.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. ascribes the remark इदं उतिपहणं &c., correctly to Patanjali.

P. I, 1, 36-अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥

Vårttikas:

- (a) उपसंज्यानमहणमनर्थकं बहिर्योगेण कृतत्वात् ॥
- (b) न वा शाटकयुगाद्यर्थम् II
- (c) वाप्रकरणे तीयस्य ङित्सूपसंख्यामम् II

(a) suggests a correction of Pânini's rule, which correction
 (b) shows to be unnecessary.

Patanjali adopts the correction proposed in (a) and rejects therefore the word उपसंख्यान from Panini's rule.

Patanjali gives the additional rule अपूरीति वक्ताध्यम्-

(c) suggests an additional rule.

Note.—(b) is called Vârttika by Kaiyaṭa and Bhaṭtojidîkshita. Bhaṭtojidîkshita also calls अपुराति वक्तव्यम् a Vârttika; it is given as a
Vârttika also in the Calcutta Edn., but
the Calcutta Edn. is wrong when it says
that it has been called a Vârttika by Kaiyaṭa.
(c) is given as a Vârttika in the Calcutta
Edn., but inaccurately.

P. I, 1, 39-कुन्मेजन्तः 11

Varttikas:

- (a) कृन्मेजन्तश्वानिकारोकारप्रकृतिः ॥
- (b) अनन्यप्रकृतिरिति वा ||
- (c) न वा संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तक्किषातस्येति ||
- (d) प्रयोजनं इस्वत्वं तुग्विधेर्मामणिकुलम् ॥
- (ह) नलोपो वृत्रहिमः ॥
- (f) उदुपधत्वमिकत्त्वस्य निकुचिते II
- (g) नाभावो यञि दीर्घत्वस्यामुना II
- (A) आच्वं किच्वस्योपादास्त ||
- (i) तिस्चतसृत्वं ङीब्विधेः 11
- (४) तस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य ।।
- (1) आस्वं पुग्विधेः क्रापयति ॥
- (т) पुग्नस्वत्वस्यादीदपत् ॥
- (॥) त्यदास्यकारष्टाब्विधेः ॥
- (ø) इड्विधिराकारलोपस्य यिवान् ।।
- (þ) मतुब्बिभक्तयुदात्तत्वं पूर्वनिघातस्य ।।
- (q) नदीइस्वत्वं संबुद्धिलोपस्य ||

Patanjali states the objections to which the two possible

interpretations of Panini's rule would be liable and shows that both interpretations nevertheless are admissible.

(a) suggests a correction of Panini's rule, which correction is improved on in (b); (c) states that the corrections suggested in (a) and (b) are unnecessary as soon as the Samnipataparibhasha is adopted; (d—i) give examples for that Paribhasha, and (k—q) enumerate exceptional cases in which the Paribhasha must not be applied.

Patanjali shows that the examples for the Paribhûshû which have been given by Kûtyûyana can be formed without that Paribhûshû, but shows by giving three different examples that the Paribhûshû must be adopted nevertheless.

> Note.—(d) and (k) are called Vårttikas by Någojibhatta in his Paribhåshendušekhara. The Calcutta Edn. gives (a) and (b), and the Paribhåshå contained in (c).

P. I, 1, 65—अलोऽन्त्यास्पूर्व उपधा || Vārttikas :

- (a) उपधासंज्ञायामल्यहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत्संघातप्रतिषेधः ||
- (b) अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेचानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्या-सविकारे ॥
- (c) पर्योजनमञ्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इती ||
- (d) व्वसोरेजावभ्यासलोपश्च ||
- (e) आपि लोपो ऽकोऽनचि ||
- (f) अत्र लोपो ऽभ्यासस्य ॥*
- (g) अलोऽन्त्यारपूर्वीऽलुपधेति वा ||
- (h) अवचनाहोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् ||

It might appear as if Phnini's rule should either be restricted (a); or altered (g). In reality it is quite correct (h). (b) shows, by quoting a Paribhhshh, how (a) cannot be refuted; and (c-f) give examples for the Paribhhshh cited in (b).

^{*} MS. of I. O. reads अन लोपोऽभ्यासस्य । अन लोपोऽभ्यासस्येत्य .

Patanjali objects to all the examples given in (c-f) and rejects therefore the Paribhasha cited in (b).

Note.—(g) is called Vârttika by Nâgojibhaṭṭa.— The Calcutta Edn. gives (a), and the Paribhâshâ contained in (b).

P. I, I, 68—स्वं रूपं दान्दस्यादान्दसंज्ञा ||

Vårttikas:

- (a) इाब्देनार्थगतेरथें कार्यस्यासंभवात्तवाचिनः संज्ञाप्रतिषेधार्थ स्वरूपवचनम् ॥
- (b) न वा दान्दपूर्वको सर्थे संप्रत्ययस्तस्मादर्थनिवृत्तिः ॥
- (c) दाब्दसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधानर्थक्यं वचनप्रामाण्यात् ॥
- (d) मन्त्राद्यर्थमिति चेच्छास्रसामर्थ्यादर्थगतेः सिद्धम् ॥
- (e) सित्तविदेशपाणां वृक्षादार्थम् ॥
- (f) पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् II
- (g) जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् ॥
- (A) झित्तस्य च तहिदोषाणां च मतस्यादार्थम् II

Patanjali shows that रूपम् conveys the sense conveyed by the Paribhasha अधेवद्गर्ण नानधंकस्य, and renders that Paribhasha unnecessary.

(a) shows why it was necessary for Panini to give this rule;
 (b-d) show that the rule can be dispensed with.

(e-h) give additional rules.

Patanjali corrects the additional rule (h) by adding to it.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives the Vârttikas (e—h), and (inaccurately) Patanjali's remark on (h). It also cites the Paribhâshâ mentioned by Patanjali.

P. I, 1, 72-येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ||

Vårttikas:

(a) येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति चेद्भृहणोपाधीनां तदन्तोपाधिशसङ्गः।]

- (४) सिदं तु विदेषणविदेष्ययोर्यथेष्टत्वात् ॥
- (c) समासप्रत्ययविधी प्रतिषेधः ||
- (d) उगिइर्णयहणवर्जम् ||
- (e) अकच्श्रम्वतः सर्वनामाव्ययधातुविधावुपसंख्यानम् ॥
- (f) सिद्धं तु तदन्तान्तवचनात् II
- (g) तदेकदेशविज्ञानाहा सिद्धम् II
- (h) प्रयोजनं सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायाम् ॥ *
- (i) उपपदिवधी भयाङचादियहणम् ॥[†]
- (k) ङीब्विधावुगिद्भहणम् ॥‡
- (/) प्रतिवेधे स्वस्नादिपहणम् ॥
- (m) अपरिमाणविस्तादियहणं च प्रतिषेधे ॥§
- (11) दिति: ||
- (०) रोण्या अण् ॥
- (p) तस्य च II
- (g) रयसीताहलेभ्यो यहिथी ॥ ¶
- (r) ख्रसर्वार्धदिक्दाब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य ||**
- (३) ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानाम् ॥ †
- (t) डिविधी संख्यायाः ||^{‡‡}
- (u) धर्माज्ञञ: 11§§

MS. of I. O. प्रयोगनं सर्वनामान्ययसंज्ञायो सर्वनामान्ययसंज्ञायो प्रयोजनंः

[†] MS. of I. O. उपपदविधी भयाद्यादिग्रहणं २ प्रयोजनम्.

[‡] Should be read twice both in the Benares edition and in the I. O. MS.

[§] MS. of I. O. अपरिमाणविस्तादिग्रहणं च प्रतिषेधे २ प्रयोजनम् ॥

MS of I. O. दिति दितिमहणं च प्रयोजनम् Bhattojid. reads दिति:-

[¶] MS. of I. O. स्थसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधी २ भयोजनम्-

^{**} MS. of I. O. सुसर्वार्द्धिकडन्द्रेभ्यो जनपदस्य २ प्रयोजनम्

^{††} MS. of I. O. कतोर्बुद्धिमहिधाववयवानां २ प्रयोजनम्-

^{‡‡} MS. of I. O. ठविनधी संख्यायाः र प्रयोजनम्-

^{§§} MS. of I. O. धम्मीन्रजः २ प्रयोजनम्-

- (ए) पदाङ्गिधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च ॥
- (w) प्रयोजनमिष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु ॥*
- (x) प्रयोजनं महदप्स्वसृनपृणां दीर्घविधौ ॥[†]
- (y) पद्युष्मदस्मदस्थ्याद्यनदुंहो नुम् ॥[‡]
- (a) युपथिमथिपुंगोसखिचतुरनङ्कत्त्रियहणम् ॥§
- (aa) त्यदादिविधिभस्तादिखीयहणं च 11
- (४४) वर्णयहणं च सर्वत्र ॥
- (cc) प्रत्ययमहर्ण चापञ्चम्याः ||
- (id) यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्यहणे ॥ **

Patanjali shows, by giving the proper meaning of यन, that Phnini's rule is not too widely applicable, and that it need not be changed to प्रकृत नर-निध:—

- (a) raises an objection, which is refuted in (b).
- (c, d) limit the rule.
- (e) demands an additional rule; (f) shows how Panini's rule might be altered so as not to necessitate the additional rule (e); (g) shows that in reality no additional rule is required. (h-cc) teach where and with what limitations or modifications to apply Panini's rule.

Patanjali rejects (v); he says that Phinii's rule is sufficient, or even preferable, if the statement अलैवानधेंकेन नान्यनानधेंकेनेति वक्तव्यम्, limited again by the other statement अनिनस्मन्महणानि चार्यक्ता चार्यकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्ति, be adopted.

(dd) corrects Panini's rule.

^{*} Should be read twice in Benares edition and I. O. MS.

[†] MS. of I. O. प्रयोजनं महदपूरवस्रनपृतां दीर्वविधी 3.

¹ MS. of I. O. reads this twice.

s MS. of I. O. ग्रुपियमिश्रपुगोसिखचतुरतदुन्त्रिमहणं २ प्रयोजनम्-

^{||} MS. of I. O. त्यदादिविधिमस्रादिसीमहणं च २ प्रयोजनम्-

[¶] Should be read twice in Benares edition and I. O. MS.

^{**} The Benares edition omits अन्यहणेषु after वन्महणे.

Note.— (p) is called a Vârttika by Kaiyaṭa; (a), (g), (h), (v—s), (bb) and (cc) are called Vârttikas by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, and (a—d), (h), (i), (l—s), and (dd), by Bhaṭṭojidîkshita; Bhaṭṭoji also calls अलेबान्यंकेन a Vârttika. The Calcutta Edn. gives, not always correctly, (c), (d), (e), (f), (h), (i), (n—t) and (v).—Of the Paribhâshâs cited in it, (6) is a Vârttika (dd), (4) equivalent to Vârttika (cc), and (1) similar in purpose to what is stated in Vârttika (g); (5) and (7) are statements of Patanjali; (2) occurs in and (3) is based on Patanjali's remarks.

P. I, 1, 75-एड् प्राचां देशे ||

No Varttika.

Patanjali corrects Panini's rule.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. apparently mistakes Patanjali's correction for a Varttika.

From the above it will appear that by adopting and practically applying the principle with which the first part of our enquiry had furnished us, we have been enabled to point out in Patanjali's discussions on 20 of Pāṇini's rules 135 Vārttikas; and I venture to hope that the reader who will examine the several Vārttikas appended to each of Pāṇini's rules, and compare the style and phraseology exhibited in all, and the manner in which Pāṇini's rules have been discussed in them, will grant that these Vārttikas bear the stamp of having been composed by one and the same author, and that taken together they form part of a work, complete in itself* and independent

^{*} A very strong argument in favour of the assumption that Patanjali has recorded and commented on all the Vårttikas of Kåtyåyana, is furnished by the fact that whenever Kåtyåyana in such words as उन्ने or उन्ने पा refers to another of his Vårttikas, the Vårttika so instanced or referred to is invariably to be found in the Mahåbhåshya. The same argument holds good with regard to the Mahåbhåshya itself, and deserves perhaps some little consideration at the hands of those who maintain that the

of the rest of the Mahabhashya. Of this, at least, there can be no doubt, that the result at which we have arrived accords with the views held by the native grammarians. That these scholars have not made it their business to point out all the Vârttikas, but have told us only occasionally and incidentally that a particular statement was regarded by them as a Varttika, has been mentioned already. I have also shown that out of the 135 statements which I have been led to consider as Varttikas in the above, no less than 48 have actually been termed Vårttikas or ascribed to Kåtyåyana the Vårttikakåra, by Kaiyata, Någojibhatta, and Bhattojidikshita, and it would be easy to prove that, if these 48 statements were regarded as Varttikas by those grammarians, the same must necessarily have been the case with many more. On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge, the term Varttika has, with two exceptions, never been applied to any of those remarks which I have considered as Patanjali's; and as regards those two exceptions, I feel no hesitation in saying that Bhattojidikshita has been in error; for both the statements which he terms Varttikas, अपूरीति वक्तव्यम् on P. I, 1, 36, and अलैवानर्थकेन नान्धेनानर्थकेनित बक्तज्यम् on P. I, 1, 72, end with the phrase The armous which is foreign to the style of Katyayana,* and in the case of the latter of those statements the context of the discussion in my opinion proves beyond doubt that it is Patanjali's.

IV.

Having fixed on a principle by which to distinguish in the Mahâbhâshya, as it has been handed down to us, between the

text of the Mahabhashya has been several times reconstructed out of fragments.

^{*} Setting aside those cases in which Patanjali is commenting on Varttikas, we find in the Mahâbhâshya on P. I, I, altogether only 9 statements which end with क्रम्य, or इति क्रम्यम्. Of these, three, on P. I, I, 36; 72; and 75 have been given already above. The remaining ones occur on P. I, I, I; 27; 57; 69; and 72; in them Patanjali states clearly the objections which are supposed to be refuted in particular Varttikas; or he states objections which he refutes himself.

Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana and the original remarks of Patanjali, and having tested the worth of that principle by applying it practically for the reconstruction of a portion of the work of Kâtyâyana, we now recur to the question which led to this enquiry, the question as to the nature and the object of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas, and of the work of Patanjali; and we may hope to answer that question the more readily and satisfactorily because we already have shown in the case of 20 of Pâṇini's rules, chosen at random, what is the tendency of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas in regard to them, and what the relation of Patanjali in regard to those Vârttikas on the one hand and to the Sûtras of Pâṇini on the other. We begin with the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana.

It is true that the Varttikas are not a commentary on the rules of Panini's grammar, and that it was not Katyayana's intention to explain the meaning and the import of those rules, as they have been explained, e.g. by the author of the Kāśikā Vritti. But it is in my opinion equally true that Kâtyâyana, in composing his Varttikas, did not propose to himself the task of finding fault with Panini; for he justifies the rules of his predecessor as often as he finds fault with them. So far from calling Kâtyâyana an unfair antagonist of Pâṇini, I would rather claim for him the title of a follower and judicious admirer of Panini, who dispassionately examines the rules laid down by his master, considers the objections which have actually been or which might be raised to them, is ever ready to defend and justify Panini, and corrects, adds to, or abandons the rules propounded by him, only when no other course is left open. It is true, Kâtyâyana states the objects of some of Panini's rules in order to show that those objects are attained without those rules, and that the latter may therefore be dispensed with,-but he also explains to us the object and the purport of other rules in order either to show that those rules are not too widely applicable, or to obviate the objection that they are unnecessary. He states the objections to which the possible interpretations of a particular rule would be liable, but he also shows that those interpretations are nevertheless

admissible, or suggests himself a correct interpretation. He discusses the several views that might be entertained regarding the objects of Panini's rules, or their relation to other rules, and he states the objections to which those views would be open,-but in many instances he also refutes the objections advanced, and brings forward arguments in favour of one or more of the views propounded. He raises objections to whole rules or to particular terms employed in them, but he not seldom also proves those objections to be unfounded, and shows the correct way of applying a rule, or explains the import of a particular term, for the very purpose of meeting objections that might possibly be raised. If it cannot be denied that in many cases he corrects Panini's rules, or suggests additional rules, it must also be admitted that there are many instances in which he proves that such corrections or additional rules are altogether uncalled for, or rendered unnecessary so soon as we adopt one or another maxim of interpretation the validity of which is proved by examples covering the whole range of Panini's grammar. And if it is true on the one hand that some of Panini's rules are declared by him unnecessary, it is on the other hand equally true that other rules which at first sight might seem to be unnecessary, are upheld by him and justified.

The object of the Varttikas is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of Panini's grammar, and on the one hand to justify Panini by defending him against unfounded criticism, and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible. And this is in my opinion the true meaning of the definition of the term until as recorded by Nagojibhatta, as recorded b

Kàtyâyana has given us ample proof that he has both justified and condemned the Sûtras of Pânini, the former perhaps even more than the latter. And from this point of view it will no longer be possible to question whether certain statements in the introductory Ahnika of the Mahabhashya have been correctly called Varttikas by the native grammarians; for it must be patent to every one that the nature and object of those statements in no way differ from those of the rest of Katyåyana's Vårttikas. If it is admitted that the words and their meanings are fixed and settled by common usage, it may well be questioned whether the rules laid down by Panini are at all necessary, and it must therefore be shown that and why they are necessary*; and if it is the object of grammar to lay down rules for the correct formation of those words which people actually use, it does not seem improper to enquire whether Panini, in teaching the formation of such words as would not appear to be in use, has not laid himself open to just censure.† If, moreover, we are promised some transcendent benefit from the study of Panini's grammar, we may well ask whether, to secure that benefit, it is sufficient for us to know the right words, as they have been taught by Panini, or whether we only have to employ them. ‡ It is also fair matter for discussion whether the name chosen for the science taught by Panini is altogether appropriate and unobjectionable.§

सिदे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे लोकतो ५ र्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दपयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमो यथा लीकिक-विदिक्षेत्र ॥

[†] अस्त्यमयुक्त इति चेत्रार्थे शब्दमयोगात्। अन्योगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्। अन्ययुक्ते दीर्धसस्त्रवत्। सर्वे देशान्तरे॥

[‡] ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः। आचारे नियमः। प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य। ज्ञास्तपूर्वके प्रयोगे अध्युदयस्ततुल्यं वेदज्ञान्देन॥

५ सूत्रे व्याकरणे बहुचुर्थो ५ नुपपन्नः। सन्दापतिपत्तिः। सन्दे ल्युडर्थः। भवे प्रोक्ताद्यश्च तद्धिताः। स्रदेयस्यके व्याकरणम्॥

And finally, when we are told that Panini intended to teach the correct formation of words actually used, we may well raise the question why he should have commenced his grammar with an enumeration of the letters.*

Though I am obliged to differ from Prof. Goldstücker. I am not altogether at a loss to understand what may have led him to describe the nature and the object of the Varttikas as he has done. The work which first brought the Sûtras of Panini and the Varttikas of Katyayana within the range of the studies of European scholars, was the Calcutta Edition of Panini. The editors of that work did not consider it necessary to append all the Varttikas to their gloss; and unfortunately they in most cases selected those which contained objections and corrections, and omitted those others in which the corrections were rejected and the objections refuted + (see on P. I, 1, 1; 7; 12; 20; 22; 24; 26; 29, &c). Starting from such a selection of Varttikas as they had given, it was not unnatural to arrive at the conclusion, which Prof. Goldstücker actually has arrived at, a conclusion which not even his subsequent profound knowledge of the Mahabhashya could induce him to modify.

We turn to Patanjali. That Patanjali has refuted some of the objections, that he has rejected some of the additional rules of Kâtyâyana, no student of the Mahâbhâshya would think of denying. But it is altogether contrary to fact to say that all the Vârttikas have been refuted by Patanjali, or to maintain that the Mahâbhâshya has been composed for the justification of Pâṇini. In proof of this assertion it would suffice to refer the reader to the analysis of part of the Mahâbhâshya which I have given above, and in which I have shown

वृत्तिसमनायार्थे उपदेशः।
 अनुबन्धकरणार्थेखः!
 इष्टबुद्धग्रथेखेति चेदुदाचानुदाचस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घेष्ट्रनानामप्युपदेशः।
 आकृत्युपदेशात्मिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः॥

[†] To use two terms which have been employed, e.g. by Bhattojidîk-shita on P. I, 1, 10, the Calcutta editors have given us the Pûrvapaksha-vârttikas, but they have omitted the Siddhānta-vârttikas.

that more than half of the 135 Varttikas pointed out have been unreservedly adopted by Patanjali; but I will try to corroborate it by additional evidence. I have stated already that whereas in the case of P. I, 1, 6 Kâtyāyana only objects to the words thereof of that rule, Patanjali proves the whole rule to be superfluous; and that while Katvayana defends P. I. 1, 36 from an objection, his defence is not accepted, and Pâṇini's rule altered, by Patanjali. I have also shown that Patanjali declares the sfa either of P. 1, 1, 23 or 25 to be superfluous, and that he rejects the rule I, 1, 49, which had been justified by Katyayana, in the sense ordinarily ascribed to it, altogether. Similarly, while Katyayana thinks it right to defend P. I, 1, 8 from a possible objection, Patanjali rejects the word gree from that rule; and while Katyayana on P. I, 1, 41 enumerates three cases as the only ones for which it would be necessary to term an Avyayîbhûva Avyaya, Patanjali rejects the rule altogether. In the same way Patanjali refutes a Varttika on P. I, 1, 56 which shows the purport of that rule, and he tries to prove that Panini's rule may be dispensed with; and he shows on P. I, 1, 62 that either the yearer of the preceding rule or the first gegg of 1, 1, 62 may be omitted. Such a proceeding cannot be called justifying Panini.

The Mahâbhâshya is in the first instance a commentary on Kâtyhyana's Vârttikas. This must be evident from all I have had occasion to state in the first part of this enquiry, and this too is the view entertained by the native grammarians. Punyarâja informs us that Patanjali composed his work बार्त्तिकव्याख्यानपुर:सरम्, and Jinendrabuddhi, when commenting on the word भाष्ये in the introductory verse of the Kâsikâ-vṛitti, tells us distinctly आप्यं कात्यायनप्रीतानां याक्यानां प्रकालक्ष्यणीतम्

But Patanjali did not rest satisfied with being a mere commentator. Having started as a commentator, he became a follower and imitator of the man whose work he was explaining. He unreservedly adopted Kâtyâyana's method of discussing the Sûtras of Pâṇini, and like most imitators carried that method to extremes. Finding that Kâtyâyana had left unnoticed certain Sûtras of Pâṇini which were or which might

appear to be liable to objection, he drew those rules within the range of his discussion, and either refuted the objections to which they seemed to be open, or showed that Panini was really in the wrong and that his rules ought to be corrected. Or finding that Kâtyâyana had failed to notice objections to rules which had been discussed by him, he thought it necessary to do what had been left undone by his master. On the other hand, not approving of the way in which certain objections had been met by Katyayana, or finding that the objections refuted by the latter admitted of different refutations, he either substituted his own refutations for those of Katyayana, or strengthened the views held by that scholar by additional arguments of his own. Again, believing himself to be in the possession of arguments by which to refute objections to Pāṇini's rules which had been stated by Kātyāyana, but which the latter had been unable to refute, or by which to prove the uselessness of corrections or additional rules which Katyayana had thought fit to adopt, he employed those arguments to refute those objections, corrections, and additional rules, and in doing so he refuted the Varttikas of Katyayana. On the other hand, there are not wanting instances in which he proved his superior skill by showing that Katyayana had done wrong in defending Panini, and by supporting the very objection which Kâtyâyana had laboured to refute. If by adopting such a course of procedure Patanjali has defended Panini from some of the objections brought against him by Kâtyâyana, it is on the other hand equally true that in many cases his criticism is much more thorough-going and destructive than Kâtyâyana's, and that Panini has suffered more at his hands than at those of the Vârttikakâra.*

^{*} Where there is a difference of opinion between Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana, or between Kâtyâyana and Patanjali, or between all the three, the native grammarians attach a higher value to the views of Kâtyâyana than to those of Pâṇini, and a higher value again to those of Patanjali than to those either of Kâtyâyana or of Pâṇini. That such should be the case is not unnatural, and it might appear unnecessary to allude to it here, were it not that Prof. Weber has expressed a somewhat different view when discussing the meaning of the word âchâryadeśiya (Ind. Stud. XIII,

The object which Kâtyâyana and Patanjali have in view throughout their works, is one and the same; the nature of their remarks on Pâṇini's rules is identically one; both differ in the form which they have given to their discussions and in the extent to which they have carried them, and to which they have availed themselves of such artifices as Nipâtana, Inâpaka, &c. Were we to omit the text of the Vârttikas and to retain only Patanjali's explanations of them, or were we to

page 317). Prof. Goldstücker was of opinion that this word denoted Patanjali as the countryman of the Acharya, understanding by Acharya Katyayana. Prof. Bhandarkar had referred it likewise to Patanjali, but had understood it to mean 'Acharya the younger.' Prof. Weber, without actually refuting these two interpretations, is apparently inclined to take the word, in accordance with Panini's rules, in the sense of 'an unaccomplished teacher,' and he disposes of the objection that Kaiyata, who uses the word Acharyadesiya, would not have called Patanjali an unaccomplished teacher, by stating, that since Kaiyata once has placed the Vårttikakåra even above the Sútrakåra, it would seem even less strange that he should have placed the same Varttikakara also above Patanjali, 'although it would appear curious enough that he should have spoken of Patanjali in so disparaging a manner.' Here Prof. Weber appears to have overlooked the fact that Kaiyata in another place of his work has distinctly told us his views as to the relative value of the teachings of Panini, Katyayana, and Patanjali. For when commenting on a passage of the Mahabhashya on P. I, 1, 29, Kaiyata lays down the well-known maxim यथी तर्मनित्रयस्य भामाण्यम्, 'the later the Muni, the greater his authority;' Katyayana is a higher authority than Panini, and Patanjali a higher authority than Kâtykyana or Panini.

The word \$\hat{Achdryadchtya}\$ does mean 'an unaccomplished teacher,' and it is opposed to \$\hat{Achdrya}\$; but it is not synonymous with Patanjali, nor does the word \$\hat{Achdrya}\$ necessarily denote Katyayana. Those who are acquainted with the method followed in the Mahabhashya, must be aware that in many cases Patanjali does not at once acquaint us with the final and correct view (\$Siddhanta\$) on the matter under discussion, but leads up to it by degrees. While doing so, he not seldom propounds views which contain a part of the truth, but which, as they contain truth mixed with error, are subsequently abandoned in favour of the \$Siddhanta\$. And in these cases it is customary with the commentators to consider those views which are partly correct and partly incorrect, as views of an \$\hat{Achdryadchtya}\$, a disputant who has some idea of the true state of the case but does not know the whole truth, and to contrast with them the views of the

translate Patanjali's original remarks into the language of Kâtyàyana, we should find it an exceedingly hard task, a task in most cases altogether impossible of solution, to distinguish between the two grammarians. Of this fact the native commentators were well aware, and hence discussions such as those of Nâgojîbhaţţa on P. I, 1, 12, as to whether Patanjali is giving his own remarks, or is commenting on Vârttikas which have been omitted in the MSS.*

It is not seldom that in the works of European scholars we meet with the statement that Patanjali has commented on and explained the rules of Panini; but that statement can be accepted as true only if a meaning be assigned to the words

Achdrya, the disputant whose views are entirely correct and finally adopted. They in fact employ the two terms in the same manner in which they also use the words Siddhantyckudelin and Siddhantin. Where Patanjali leads up to a Varttika which is finally adopted by him, by stating a view which is only partly correct, the view to which he thus gives expression, is the view of an Achdryadesiya, and the view taken in the Varttika that of the Achdrya. But where the two views, as happens to be the case not unfrequently, are both propounded by Patanjali, Patanjali himself is both the Acharyadesiya and also the Acharya. When commenting on the Varttika पद्मापदस्मद् on P. I, 1, 72, Patanjali raises the question whether the word पर of that Vart. is an instance for पदाधिकार or अङ्काधिकार in the preceding Vart. पराङ्गाधिकारे. In the words एवं तद्येङ्गाधिकारे प्रयोजनं नास्तीति he first states the view that it is an instance for पदाधिकार: but that view he afterwards abandons in favour of the correct view that q is an instance for अद्भाधिकार. In this case there is no question between a view of Patanjali's and one of Katyayana's; both views are propounded by Patanjali. And yet Nagojibhatta contrasts the two views with each other, by calling the view first stated that of the Acharyudesiya. It is the view of an Acharyadesiya, because it is partly correct and partly incorrect; पर is an instance for the Varttika पराङ्गाधिकारें, but it is an instance for the term अङ्काधिकारे of that Varttika, and not for पदाधिकारे. See also for a similar example Kaiyata on P. IV, 1, 162.

The question on P. I, 1, 12 is, whether in the words अथवा नगृज्ञसंज्ञा — मार्थोदीदावर्थानामिति (on page 79a of the Benares Edition) Pantanjali is giving his own arguments or is commenting on the three Varttikas वचनसामध्यादा। योगविभागादा। मार्थोदीदावर्थानां वा ॥ omitted in the MSS. (कोशे). explanation and comment, which those words do not convey generally. For, so far as my own experience goes, Patanjali never tells us the import of a whole rule or of a particular term of a rule, he never quotes instances or counterinstances, for the simple purpose of explanation, but always does so either to show that such rule is absolutely necessary, and that the objects for which it has been given are not attained by other rules, in other words, to justify Panini; or he does so for the purpose of showing subsequently that such rule or part of a rule is not necessary, and that it therefore may be dispensed with. The Bhūshyakara, in short, is not a Vrittikara, and the functions of both are carefully kept separate by the commentators. When Patanjali on P. I, 1, 4 asks why Panini has employed the terms भान and आर्थभान के in his rule, and when he quotes counterinstances, apparently to explain the meaning and import of those terms, Kaiyata shows us the real purpose of Patanjali's proceeding by saying ऋषेण सुजप्रवाख्यानायार्थधानुक-स्य च लोपविशेषणस्य धानुमहणानर्थेक्यप्रतिपाइनाय प्रस्युताहरणोपन्यासः, and N&gojibhatta justifies Kaiyata's remark by adding नन् पदप्रयोजनिय-न्ता वृत्तिकारस्याचिता न भाष्यकारस्येत्यत आह क्रमेणेति। तत्तत्पद्मयोजनखण्डन-क्रमेणस्थर्भ: II And when Patanjali on P. I, 1, 57 asks why Panini has employed the term squ, in his rule, and when in answer to that question he quotes a number of counterinstances which by the term squ; would seem to be excluded from Panini's rule, Kaiyata again considers the occasion worthy of remark and tells us that the question has been raised (not to explain Pânini's rule, but) to show that for some of the Pratyudâharanas which are given in the commentaries, the term sig: would be unnecessary ('बार्त्तानि प्रत्युवाहरणानि कानिचिच्छक्यप्रविविधाना-नीति प्रश्नो अच इति किमिति.'), and Någojibhatta again appends to Kaiyata's remark the explanatory statement प्रत्युवाहरणाविधिनता वृत्तिकाराणामुचिता न तु भाष्यकृती अत आह वार्तानीतिः When on P. I, 1, 50 Patanjali asks for an example of that rule, Kaiyata shows the reason for that question by saying कचिलक्षणान्तरेणेष्टं सिखमिति प्रश्न ; and when Patanjali on I, 1, 56 enquires why Panini has employed the term स्थानियत instead of saying merely स्थानी, Kaiyata informs us of the real import of Patanjali's question

by stating विनापि वितना तक्येलाभा यथा ङिल्किदिति भावः. Nowhere does Patanjali explain Pâṇini for the simple purpose of explanation, but like a second Vârttikakâra, he enquires whether anything has been omitted in the Sûtras that should have been stated, or whether in them there is anything superfluous, faulty, or at all liable to objection.

Here I conclude. To show in detail the differences between Kâtyâyana and Patanjali would be a task full of interest, and highly instructive, as showing the progress which the science of grammar had undoubtedly made from the time of Kâtyâyana to that of Patanjali, and as tracing in the work of the latter the germs of those failings which have continued growing and increasing in the works of the later grammarians ever since. But that task does not lie within the scope of this enquiry, nor would the materials at my command justify my undertaking it at present. My purpose is attained if in future it will be impossible to stigmatize Kâtyâyana as an unfair antagenist of Pâṇini, and to speak of Patanjali as refuting the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana, or justifying Pâṇini.

APPENDIX.

In order to enable the reader to judge for himself of the value of the Varttikapatha which I have mentioned on page 6, I publish below the first chapter of that work from the MS. in my possession.

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे ठोकतो ऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमो यथा ठौकिकवैदिकेषु । समानायामर्थावगती शब्देन चापशब्देन च शब्देनैवार्थो ऽभिधेय इति नियमः ॥

तत्र ज्ञानपूर्वके प्रयोगे धर्मः ॥

न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ॥

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो ऽनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः । शास्त्र-प्रवृत्तिफलको वर्णानां क्रमेण निवेशो वृत्तिसमवायः॥

अइ उण् ॥

आकृतियहणात्सिद्धम् । रूपसामान्याद्या ॥

ऋ लक्॥

समाने वार्थे शास्त्रान्वितो ऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तको भवति | एवं समाने शब्दे शास्त्रान्वितो ऽप्यर्थो ऽस्य निवर्तको भवति तुल्य-न्यायात् ||

पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति ॥

ए ओङ् ॥

वर्णेकदेशा वर्णयहणेन गृह्यन्ते ॥ नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य तद्दिधिः ॥ अथवा न गृह्यन्ते ॥

हयव रद्॥

रेफाय्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ॥

रेफाय्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ॥

नेमौ रही कार्यिणाविति च ॥

अयोगवाहानामट्खपदेशः कार्यः । शर्षु च ॥
अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धात्वादीनामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् ॥
अर्थवन्ते वर्णा धात्वादीनामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् ॥
अर्थवास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः ॥
तत्र स्वभावाद्याद्याद्य एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो उन्ये उनर्थका इति

तत्त्वम् ॥

प्रत्याहारे ऽ नुबन्धानां कथमज्यहणेषु न ।
आचारादप्रधानत्वाङ्गोपथ बलवत्तरः ॥
अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्रोतेर्वा सरो ऽक्षरम् ।
वर्ण वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपिद्यते ॥
वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तद्रथिमष्टबुद्धार्थं लष्वर्थं चोपिद्यते ॥
वृद्धिरादेच् ॥१॥

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति । छन्दोवत्कवयः कुर्वन्तीति नेष्टिः ॥ अथ संग्रेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ आचार्यव्यवहारात्संग्रात्वसिद्धिः ॥ पूर्वीचारितः संग्री परोचारिता संग्रा ॥ सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम् ॥ मङ्गलादीनि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषाणि च भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पु-रुषाणि चाध्येतारथ वृद्धियुक्ता भवन्ति ॥

इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ॥

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः । समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः ॥

गुणा भेदकाः । अभेदकाश्च । तत्राभेदका इत्येव न्याय्यम् ॥

तकारः मुखद्यखोचारणार्थः ॥

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥

यं विधि प्रत्युपदेशो ऽ नर्थकः स विधिर्वाध्यते यस्य तु विधेर्नि-मित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते ॥

मण्डूकगतयो ऽधिकाराः ॥

न धातुलीप आर्धधातुके ॥ ४॥ प्रसक्तस्यानभिनिर्वृत्तस्य प्रतिषेधेन निवृत्तिः ॥ (दीधीवेबीटाम् ॥ ६ ॥)

दृष्टानुविधि[®] छन्दसि ॥

हलो उनन्तराः संयोगः॥ १॥

अतज्जातीयव्यवाये नानन्तर्यम् ॥

तुज्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥ ९ ॥

ऋकारल्कारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा विधेया ॥

उरण् रपर इत्यत्र लपरत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

अदसो मात् ॥१२॥

नैकं प्रयोजनं योगारम्भं प्रयोजयति ॥

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥१४॥

ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाभिविधी च यः ।

एतमातं ङितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् 🝴

तरप्तमपी घः॥२२॥

इह व्याकरणे सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धकयहणेषु रूपमाश्रीयते यत्रा-स्यैतद्रूपमिति रूपनिर्पहश्च नान्तरेण लौकिकं प्रयोगं तस्मिश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे सानुबन्धकानां प्रयोगो नास्तीति कृत्वा द्वितीयः प्रयोग उपा-स्यत उपदेशो नाम ॥

बहुगणवतुङ्गि संख्या ॥ २३ ॥

कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंपत्ययः ॥

अप्रकरणज्ञं प्रति गोपालकमानयेत्युक्त उभयगतिस्तस्य भवति । साधीयो यष्टिहस्तं गमिष्यति ॥

अध्यंभेदाब्दस्य संख्यासंज्ञा वक्तव्या समासकन्विध्यर्थम् । तुकि चामहणम् ॥

अर्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञ इति वक्तव्यं समास-कन्विभ्यर्थम् ॥

अधिकग्रहणं चालुकि समासोत्तरपदवृद्धचर्थम्। बहुवीही चापह-णम् ॥

व्यान्ता पर् ॥ २४ ॥

उपदेशे ब्णान्तेति वक्तव्यम् । न वा ॥ यथारुक्षणमप्रयुक्ते । तत्र रुक्षणाभावस्य योग्यतेत्यर्थः ॥

क्तकवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥

अनुबन्धो लुप्तो ऽपि कालकारकादिविद्योषानुपलक्षयित ॥ सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७॥

बहुवीही तहुणसंविज्ञानमपि ॥ बाधकान्येव निपातनानि ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानां पाटात्पर्युदासो वक्तव्यः ॥ अङ्गाधिकारे यदुच्यते गृह्यमाणविभक्तोस्तद्भवि । सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टे यदुच्यते प्रकृतविभक्तौ तद्भवि ॥

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंच्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥

अपुरीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वाप्रकरणे तीयस्य ङित्सूपसंख्यानम् । विभाषा द्वितीयेत्यादि न कर्तव्यम् ॥

तद्धितश्वासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥

एवं गते कृत्यिप तुल्यमेतन्मान्तस्य कार्यं महणं न तत्र ।
ततः परे चाभिमता न कार्याख्यः कृदर्या महणेन योगाः ॥
कृत्तदितानां महणं तु कार्यं संख्याविदीषं स्निनिश्चिता ये ।
तस्मात्स्वरादिमहणं च कार्यं कृत्तदितानां महणं च पाठे ॥
सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेष्वित्यादि च ॥

कृनमेजन्तः ॥ ३९॥

अनन्यपकृतिरिति वाच्यम् । न वा संनिपातरुक्षणस्यादि ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१॥

लुग्मुखस्वरोपचाराः प्रयोजनमिति परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

मिदचो अन्त्यात्परः॥ ४०॥

नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयित नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पटन्त्यसंभवेऽपवादैरु-त्सर्गा वाध्यन्तामिति । किं तिर्हि । लौकिको दृष्टान्तः । लोके हि स-त्यिप संभवे वाधनं भवित । यथा दिध ब्राह्मणेभ्य इत्यादौ सत्यिप संभवे तक्रदानं दिधदानस्य निवर्तकं भविति ॥

अन्त्यात्पूर्वी मस्जेरनुषङ्कसंयोगादिलोपार्थमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ भार्जमर्च्योरन्त्यात्पूर्वो वक्तव्यः ॥

एच रम्बस्वादेशे ॥ ४८॥

सिद्धमेङः सस्थानस्वादैचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वादिति ॥ षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९॥

अधिकारथ त्रिपकारकः |कथिदेकदेशस्यः सर्व शास्त्रमभिज्यल-यति प्रदीपवत् | अपरो यथा रज्ज्वा बद्धं काष्टमनुकृष्यते तहदनुकृष्यते चकारेण | अपरः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थ इति योगे योग उपतिष्ठते |।

स्थानिवदादेशी अन्तिवधी ॥ ५६॥

सामान्यातिदेशे विशेषानतिदेशः ॥

एकदेशविकृतस्योपसंख्यानम् | लोकन्यायात्सिद्धमेतच हि श्वा पुच्छे छिन्ने गर्दभो भवति ॥

स्थानी नाम यो भूत्वा नो भवत्यादेशो नाम यो 5 भूत्वा भवति ॥ बुद्धिविपरिणाममात्रं वा ॥

तयादेश उभयप्रतिषेथी वक्तव्यः । विप्रतिषेधास्ति सम् ॥ व्रयादेशे स्नन्तस्य प्रतिषेधी वक्तव्यः । विप्रतिषेधाद्या ॥ आम्विधी च स्नन्तस्य प्रतिषेधी वक्तव्यः । विप्रतिषेधाद्या ॥ स्वरे वंस्वादेशे प्रतिषेधी वक्तव्यः ॥ गीः पूर्वणित्त्रात्वस्वरेषु प्रतिषेधी वक्तव्यः ॥

न पदान्तः॥ ५८॥

स्वरदीर्घयतीपेषु तीपाजादेश एव न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ किलुगुपधात्वचङ्परनिर्द्धासेषूपसंख्यानम् ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वरेयतीपस्वरवर्जे द्विवचनादीनि च न कर्तव्यानि ॥ तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपतत्वणत्वेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥ न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३॥

लुमित प्रतिषेध एकपदस्वरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

सर्वामन्त्रितसिज्लुक्स्वरवर्जम् ॥

प्रयोजनं लुकि ज्ञिनित्कत्स्वरा इति ॥

अड्डो रविधी लुमता लुप्ने प्रत्ययलक्षणं नेति वाच्यम् ॥

न तुमता तस्मिचिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

तस्मित्रिति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥६६॥

उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमीनिर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८॥

सित्तविदोषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम् ॥

पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् ॥

जिल्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् ॥

क्षित्तस्य चतिह्रद्रोषाणां च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् । मीनस्य पर्यायस्येष्यते ॥

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७०॥

ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च दाब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते ।

अल्पो महांश्व केषांचिदुभयं तत्स्वभावतः ॥

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य।। ७२॥

उगिद्वर्णपहणवर्जे समासम्तवयाविधी मितिषेधः ॥

अकच्दनम्बतः सर्वनामाव्ययधातुविधावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

तदेकदेशविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् ॥

प्रयोजनं सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायाम् ॥

उपपदविधी भयाहचादिगहणम् ॥

प्रतिषेधे स्वस्नादिमहणं च ॥

दितियहणं च प्रयोजनम् ॥

रोण्या अण् ॥

तस्य चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

रथसीताहरुभयो यद्विधी प्रयोजनम् ॥

स्वसर्वार्धादक्दाब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य ॥

ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानाम् ॥

टाञ्चिषी संख्यायाः ॥

धर्माच्चः ॥

पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदुत्तरपदस्य च । तदन्तस्येत्येव ज्यायः ॥

वर्णमहणं च सर्वत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

पत्ययमहणं चापञ्चम्याः ॥

अतैवानर्थकेन नान्येनानर्थकेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

अतिनस्मन्महणान्यर्यवता चानर्थकेन च ॥

यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्महण इति वाच्यम् ॥

वृद्धिर्पस्याचामाः ॥ ७३ ॥

वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञा वक्तव्या ॥ गोत्रोक्तरपदस्य च सा वक्तव्या ॥

गोत्रान्ताइ।समस्तवत्प्रयोजयतीति वक्तव्यम् । जिह्नाकास्यहरित-कात्यवर्जम् । इदमेव ज्यायः ॥

(त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४॥)

कथित्कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते स यदा निष्क्रान्तका-न्तारो भवति तदा सार्थ जहाति ॥

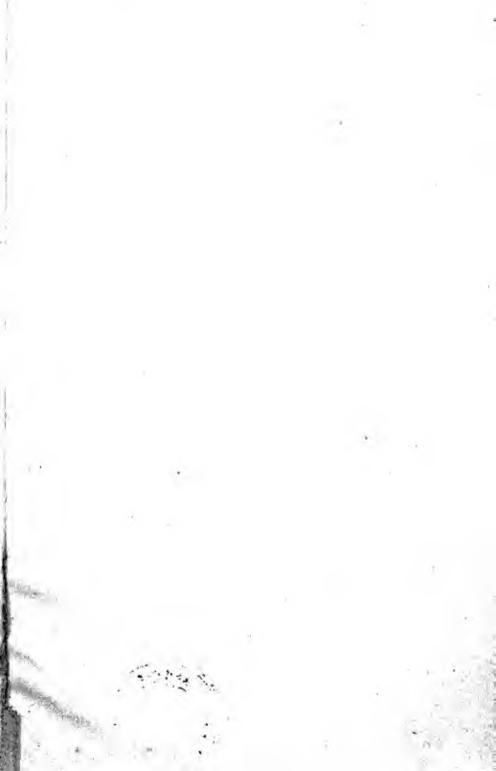
एक् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५॥

शैषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

।। इति (श्रीमद्भगवत्कात्यायनविरचिते वार्त्तिकपाउँ) प्रथमा-

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ध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥



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